

# IN THESE TIMES

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# THE INSIDE STORY



Andre Gorz accuses the German peace movement of not caring enough about Soviet injustices in Eastern Europe.

## French, German left feud on peace issues

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

Nothing better illustrates the deepening chasm between the left in Germany and in France than the past year's polemic between Rudolf Bahro and Andre Gorz. Both are leading lights of what might be called a "new left" in the respective countries. Bahro was imprisoned and then thrown out of East Germany for his constructive critique of Eastern European societies published as *The Alternatives*. Since living in West Germany, his thinking has evolved rapidly toward radical ecology. He is an active member of the Green Party.

Gorz is a French sociologist of Polish origin whose book *Le Socialisme difficile* was a major contribution to the thinking of democratic socialists. His more recent book *Adieu au Proletariat* gave up on the working class as the agent of revolution. This was hailed with some enthusiasm by Bahro, who sees the Western working class as relatively privileged compared to Third World peoples and believes the Western consumption pattern must be changed as part of worldwide revolution.

So at first it seemed the two thinkers might be converging toward some sort of similar project of ecological autogestion, or social self-management. Then early last year, Gorz gave an interview to *Der Spiegel* sharply attacking the German peace movement for its alleged "indifference to freedom." Bahro replied with "shock and dismay." The polemic was on.

Characteristically, although the exchange was published in West Germany's leading newsweekly, it has gone unnoticed in France, except by German studies specialists. Thus the significance of Gorz's argument for France is not its influence—since it has had none—but the fact that his criticisms of the German peace movement are typical of those heard constantly in the French left, where the spontaneous rejection of the German movement has amounted to a sort of natural consensus.

The starting point for Gorz's attack was the German peace movement's inadequate (from the French viewpoint) reaction of outrage against General Jaruzelski's suppression of Poland's Solidarity movement in December 1981. It is certain that the French reacted with the longest and loudest protests. From that moment on, Poland has become a sort of touchstone for judging every political phenomenon. Germans, the French say, do not care enough about freedom in general and about Polish freedom in particular. This was the gist of Gorz's attack.

To explain this, Gorz said that although in France history had grafted the idea of freedom and human rights onto the idea of the nation, this had not occurred in Germany. There the bourgeois revolution did not involve the small peasantry in the struggle against feudalism, he said. Therefore, Germany was a selfish and provincial nation whose destiny was not linked to the idea of freedom. Whereas the French were ready to resist totalitarianism because of their historic attachment to freedom, the absence of strong German protest against repression in Poland showed that they were already intimidated by Soviet SS-20s, and it was this fear that motivated the peace movement, Gorz argued.

Bahro retorted that Gorz's argument was rooted in French chauvinism and that "freedom" as defined by the French revolution had provided the perfect rationalization for Europe to continue with its "Conquistador" colonialization of the world that started with the Crusades.

Bahro said that type of eagerness to defend the "free West" against the "totalitarian East" was what had made it so easy for "democratic socialists of all shades to thrust aside the 'anti-imperialist'—that is, the anti-colonialist—character of the Russian revolution." For despite Russia's own colonialism, "with October began the revolt of the periphery against the Metropole."

France, Bahro granted, was "much more 'European,' much more metropolitan than Germany, which still today has not completely broken its tribal roots, has never put down its Occitanians"—referring to the destruction of ethnic particularisms by the strong centralized French state. Germany, he said, in its Middle and Northern Protestant part, functioned in a less colonialist manner, at least culturally and ideologically. "The previous catastrophe has put Germany in a situation where its immediate interests point one way—that is, that the Europeanization of Europe, like it or not, should include depriving it of its colonial metropolitan power."

Bahro said Gorz thought the German peace movement wanted to get rid of nuclear weapons out of fear of the Russians. Well, he replied, also for that reason—but that was not the fundamental one. "We start from the position that the Soviet empire is in a state where it will no longer threaten the West with nuclear weapons if it is no longer threatened from here, and where it no longer can threaten Western Europe with conventional forces."

The real purpose of Western European nuclear weapons is not direct defense but rather to be able, without fearing Russian opposition, to "intervene with the Americans (or in place of the Americans?) for 'our oil' in the Persian Gulf."

Without nuclear weapons, Bahro said, Europe, since it lacks natural resources, would be disarmed not so much vis-a-vis the East as vis-a-vis the South. "It would have to work to change its way of producing and living so that people here could feed, heat, clothe, educate and care for themselves counting only on their own resources." This change in the way of living is the objective of the radical ecology movement (which has no counterpart in France). The new peace movement, said Bahro, wanted to put an end to "Conquistador" Europe.

On the subject of attachment to freedom, Bahro said Gorz's basic reproach was that the Germans had no French or English history. But it was precisely the urge to adapt Germany to the "progressive French model of nation state" that found expression in Bismark's empire, Bahro recalled. "We don't want any more quasi-French nation state," he said.

"Isn't it a projection of your own nation-state tradi-

tion when all that comes to your mind at the sign of the German movement for peace and disarmament is fear of German reunification?" Bahro asked Gorz.

In Poland, Bahro said, the French criteria are especially valid against the repression of the Solidarity movement by Soviet imperial despotism. But, he said, "the main question" we must ask ourselves is: "How must Western Europe appear so that the Russian bear can be prevailed upon to let loose a measure of its hold on Eastern Europe?"

Answering his own question, Bahro boldly suggested some sort of new "Rapallo" between Europe and Russia—a reference to the 1922 friendship treaty between Bolshevik Russia and the Weimar Republic that horrified France at the time and is still a symbol in France for the worst thing that could possibly happen.

Well, why not? asked Bahro. "A new Rappallo would let Western Europe loose from North America... and perhaps Eastern Europe loose from the Soviet Union." On the contrary, Gorz's anti-Soviet policy "is the surest method of perpetuating the dominance of the military" in the USSR.

"It is quite unfounded self-righteousness, it is objectively hypocritical to condemn the Soviet domestic political structure as world danger number one, without working out one's own thought on the cruel and fateful dialectic by which the impulse of the October revolution was lost in the militarization of the Soviet regime." Bahro's own thought leads him to see that "it is this irresistible Western industrial system that has driven not only the Russian revolution but practically every attempt at a non-capitalist alternative into a dead end." Bahro concluded that the institutionalized left was part of the power structure of the Metropole.

Gorz carried on the argument several months later in an interview with a Frankfurt peace movement paper. He granted that the French were educated to "expect and demand everything from the state" that it was hard for social movements to develop—thus the "mournful apathy" ever since the left was elected. In Germany, on the contrary, social movements were stronger and it was up to them to reconstruct a feeling of "national identity." He said he did not object to what he saw as the German peace movement's emphasis on the national question. "What I do not approve is that it accepts... the present division of Europe and the oppression of Poland." In Gorz's opinion, "a pacifist ecological movement should reject the whole ideology of detente."

The "ideology of detente comes from the '60s when people figured that an economic-technological rapprochement was going to bring about a political rapprochement between the capitalist and Soviet systems. ...People were convinced that industrialism and productivism, because common to the two blocs, would impose similar political systems on them. In Western countries people dreamed of achieving this result by ex-

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## "I'd rather be in Jersey"

Elizabeth Goldstein, once *In These Times*' business manager and then associate publisher, has resigned from the newspaper to move back East. Elizabeth was invaluable to us in countless ways, often working under extremely difficult circumstances. She continued our progress toward order in the Business Department, but combined concern for efficiency with care for her co-workers. We wish her well in her new work.

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## IN THESE TIMES



Chris Gerretsen

# In Chile, wide unrest mounts

By John Dinges

SANTIAGO

SEPTEMBER 11 MARKED THE 10TH anniversary of the military coup that led to the murder of Chile's elected President Salvador Allende. Now, after struggling through a decade of repression and infighting, the labor unions and political parties that are challenging Chile's military dictatorship with mass protests and strikes face their best chance so far of returning the country to civilian control and to the old-fashioned democracy some of them disparaged in the past.

But it didn't look that way just three years ago. General Augusto Pinochet was riding an economic upturn, seemingly secure in the support of the Armed Forces and at the height of his popularity following a plebiscite that endorsed his handwritten constitution providing for his absolute rule until at least 1989, and perhaps until the end of the century. And the opposition that has appeared so formidable in a series of national protests held monthly since May—the unions, small businessmen, leftist, centrist and even rightist political groups—was until a few months ago splintered and in a disarray of antagonism and self-doubt.

"They were the darkest days we went through," said a 33-year-old opposition journalist who dropped out of political reporting in 1980. When I knew her in the mid '70s, she was a dogged investigative reporter digging at the regime's human rights scandals and ingeniously seeking out the loopholes in the government-imposed control of the press to write and broadcast her stories. "I quit fighting. I was resigned to living the rest of my life in a dictatorship. There were event times I doubted my political ideas and thought that Pinochet was creating something that might work."

Looking up old political sources and journalistic acquaintances here, I found that to be a common sentiment echoed on all political sides of the current broad-based amalgam pressing for a return to Chile's 132-year tradition of democracy that was broken by Pinochet's 1973 coup against an elected leftist government.

Ricardo Claro, a conservative Santiago lawyer and one of the leading business critics of Pinochet's doctrinaire economic

policies, was a Foreign Ministry official forcefully proclaiming the virtues of the military government when I met him the first time in 1976. Now he writes acerbic newspaper columns attacking the government for its policies that have led to almost 4,000 bankruptcies and a \$19 billion foreign debt. "There were a few months when I actually believed in the miracle," he said, referring to the economic boom that lasted from 1977 to 1981.

Copper Union leader Rodolfo Seguel, often compared to Lech Walesa for his work in uniting Chile's divided labor unions in opposition to dictatorship, was only 19 when Pinochet came to power. He said he was "happy, because I thought the military was saving the country.... Later, I realized—and deeply regretted—that they were turning the country into a strong dictatorship and that I would be called on to lead the opposition against the very ones I was so happy to see take power" (see interview with Seguel, *In These Times*, July 13).

The development of the current mass opposition movement in Chile is the 10-year story of a once seemingly impossible reconciliation of a bitterly polarized society—the story of how former Pinochet enthusiasts on the right, fence-sitters in the centrist Christian Democratic Party and leftists ranging from implacable Marxist-Leninists to Christian-oriented socialists came to join hands in the current struggle, whose only common denominator is the in some cases guilt-ridden rediscovery of the value of democracy and a determination to oust Pinochet.

## 1973: a nation divided.

In 1973, during the government of President Allende and his Popular Unity coalition of Socialist, Communist and several small leftist parties, Chile was a divided nation. Leftists proclaimed the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, while rightists mouthed quasi-fascist slogans about "authority" and openly called for the generals to "put on their pants" and depose Allende. The majority leadership of Chile's largest party, the Christian Democrats, plotted feverishly—yet unsuccessfully—to engineer a coup that would place their party in power. The rhetoric on all sides resounded with violence and intolerance, as the country was rocked by rightist terrorism and street

fighting between rival groups. The most tragic casualty was Chile's 132-year-old virtually uninterrupted democracy.

Then came the Sept. 11, 1973, coup led by Pinochet, which, although more brutal than most Allende opponents expected or desired, had at least tacit approval of apparently large sectors of the country's middle class. Pinochet was able to successfully shift the blame for the rampant violence before the coup and the repression afterward onto the leftist parties.

The Popular Unity coalition and allied labor unions were decimated by mass executions and arrests. By 1979, the leftist parties had crumbled inside the country and split into feuding factions abroad. The official demise of the once powerful Popular Unity—which had elected Allende with 36 percent of the vote and in later parliamentary election reached 44 percent—is dated to a stormy meeting of exiles in Europe that year, at which Allende's Socialist Party splintered over the issue of the use of armed struggle and what some Socialists saw as the overwhelming influence in the coalition of the Moscow-oriented Communist Party.

But the split seemed to help clear the air for much of the left and open up the possibility of an alliance with the Christian Democrats, who by then were united in their opposition to Pinochet but refused to consider making common cause with the left as long as the Communists were part of the package.

Ironically, the feuding abroad may have contributed to a rejuvenation of the left inside Chile and the the ideologically broadminded political coalition-building involved in the current protest movement.

One of the most active of the groups pursuing what Ramirez called the "reacommodation" of the left is called the Socialist Convergence, an attempt to meld the non-Communist-oriented part of the Socialist Party with the smaller Christian-oriented leftist parties.

In mid-June of this year, at the height of the second round of protest and strike activity against Pinochet, 350 people attended a semi-clandestine meeting to discuss the organization's central ideological innovation: the assigning of higher priority to democracy than to the traditional leftist goal of socialism. For most of those present—many of them in their 20s—it was the first time they had ever dis-

After 10 years of Gen. Pinochet's (above) dictatorship, Chileans are clamoring for a return to democracy.

cussed socialist ideas in a group.

Among the labor unions, which have been far more active than the parties in spearheading the current opposition movement, there was a similar pattern of repression, splintering and rediscovery. But the unions, unlike the political parties, were not banned outright after the 1973 coup. A populist-sounding air force general, Nicanor Diaz, was minister of labor and he convinced many of the non-leftist union leaders to support the military government, which they did until Diaz's ouster in 1975—despite a decree forbidding all collective bargaining, union elections and strikes.

The government was able to weed out leftists and other opposition figures from leadership in key unions, such as the copper, oil and dock workers. Then in 1976 the government established a new labor law restructuring the unions against their will, placing severe restrictions on the right to strike, but nevertheless allowing collective bargaining to resume and union rank and file to elect new leaders.

The labor code's clear purpose of creating weak, atomized unions almost had the opposite effect. It coalesced the divided union leaders in opposition to the code, and in the ensuing elections nearly all the pro-government leaders were displaced by whom, opposition-oriented leaders—of whom Seguel of the crucial copper miners' union is an example.

The Christian Democratic Party—the only Chilean party to have elected a president with a majority of votes in recent history—was always seen as the most important actor in any opposition movement, but until recently its opposition was luke warm, partly because of the cautious leadership of patriarchal former president Eduardo Frei (who died in 1982). The party was not subjected to the violent repression applied to the left, but was immobilized by its conservative faction—associated with the former president—that followed a tactic of "loyal opposition" and attempted to change the Pinochet government from within.

Clearly, the opposition's low point was the time of the plebiscite approval of Pinochet's constitution in 1980. Imports of consumer goods that were then flooding the country—attracted by what is now acknowledged to have been a seriously overvalued exchange rate for the peso—made the government's promises of consumer affluence seem plausible for all but the very poor. Car ownership tripled.

The political magazine *Apsi* described

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# IN SHORT

## Hunger offensive

Before he had the no doubt welcome distraction of getting to pose before the television cameras and denounce the Korean Air tragedy as a Soviet "massacre," President Reagan was put in the uncomfortable position of having to admit that there might be hungry people in the U.S. Announcing the formation of a Task Force on Hunger last month, Reagan listed the federal food assistance programs for the poor and confessed to being "perplexed" at the U.S. hunger problem. To help the president get a better grasp of the situation, the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities generously put together a four-page analysis of what the Reagan budget has done to federal food programs. (Naturally, Reagan, in announcing his hunger offensive, didn't mention his administration's role in cutting such programs.) But while the president has in the past claimed his cutbacks have only eliminated better-off citizens from food assistance rolls, the Center found that "well over half the food stamp savings came from reducing benefits for households well below the poverty line." Reagan's most recently proposed food stamp cuts would slash the benefits of 62 percent of food stamp households. In all, food stamp and child nutrition programs have been cut a total of \$12.6 billion from fiscal year 1982 to 1985.

The president also suggested that part of the problem may be that the needy "are not aware that federal [food] aid is available to them." Ironical, responds the Center. In the first round of 1981 food stamp cuts, the administration eliminated programs designed to inform eligible citizens that they can receive food stamps.

## Let us eat cake

One new citizens' coalition has a solution of sorts to hunger: the First National Let Them Eat Cake Sale. On October 3 at least 100 U.S. cities will host bakesales to raise money for local anti-Reagan groups and to educate the public about the Administration's Antoinette attitude toward the needy. Slices of cake will be sold in boxes decorated with political messages by artists including Jules Feiffer, David Levine and Paul Conrad. Other delicacies will be available besides cake—organizers recommend guns or butter cookies, banana republic cream pie and fund-raisin bread. The group behind the event is mailing out do-it-yourself booklets to interested groups, and can be contacted at 918 F St., NW, Washington, DC 20004. Organizers hope to raise as much as a half million dollars nationally.

## Documents NOW

The National Organization for Women (NOW) filed a Freedom of Information request August 24 to obtain documents on the work of the Task Force on Legal Equality for Women, better known as the "sham" Barbara Honegger denounced when she quit her Justice Department position with the task force last month. According to Honegger, the reports document sex discrimination in the federal regulations code and in the practices of federal agencies. Reagan referred to the work of the agency and its reports in his caveman speech to the International Federation of Business and Professional Women last month, but later White House officials denied any such documents existed. Charging that the administration is trying to suppress the task force's findings, NOW points out that tax dollars financed the to-this-point secret reports and is seeking their immediate release.

## Asylum at last

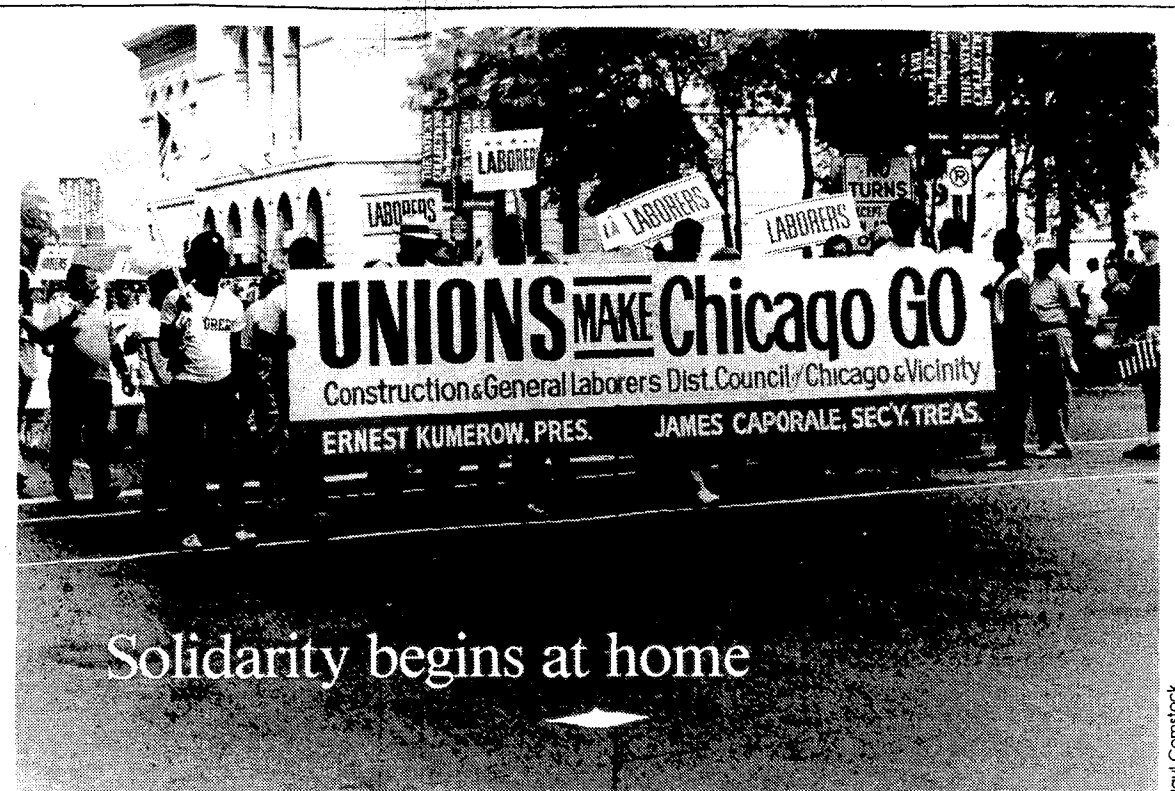
Exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus won his battle for political asylum last Tuesday, when Immigration Judge Irving Schwartz granted his claim that deportation to southern Africa would endanger his life. Brutus, who is considered responsible for South Africa's exclusion from the Olympics since 1970, had a hard time fighting the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) crusade to exclude him from the U.S. because the INS insisted that the material it based its judgment on is confidential (*In These Times*, Feb. 2). Court papers showed that in 1967 the State Department had judged him an inadmissible alien under the McCarran Act, which bars aliens who "support anarchist, communist or terrorist organizations," but the INS wouldn't elaborate on that claim. In his ruling, Schwartz denied the tenured Northwestern University professor posed "a menace and a danger to the good order of the Constitution." Naturally, the INS will appeal the decision.

## Fo's foes

But the McCarran Act won one last week. Italian playwright Dario Fo and actress Franca Rame were denied visas by the American consulate in Milan, and this time there were no secrets about why.

*New York Times* reports a State Department spokesperson acknowledged the couple had been excluded from the country for the Act, because "they had done fundraising and other activities for Italian terrorist groups." Fo and Rame had been invited to perform at the New York Shakespeare Festival and to lecture at the Yale Drama School and the New York University School of the Arts.

—Joan Walsh



## Solidarity begins at home

CHICAGO—Organized labor's first Solidarity Day in September 1981 drew an unexpected 400,000 people to Washington, D.C., in an attention-getting plebiscite of sorts, protesting Ronald Reagan's first year as president. On Solidarity Day III this September 5 the capital was quiet, but national labor leaders counted the event as big a success as the first.

An estimated 1.3 million people turned out to Solidarity Day events in 150 cities around the country last week. Scheduled for Labor Day, a little more than a week after the August 27 March on Washington that drew 300,000 people, the annual AFL-CIO event was planned for the grassroots this year, deliberately avoiding a capital focus.

"We decided in February to stay out of Washington entirely," said AFL-CIO spokesman Rex Hardesty. "We sent a contingent of 60,000 people to the August 27 March and it would have been logistically impossible a week later."

Instead, labor leaders took off to the hinterlands. The largest Solidarity event was in New York City, where 300,000 people marched, including Gov. Mario

Cuomo and Grand Marshal Sandra Feldman of the United Federation of Teachers. Conspicuously missing was New York



Mayor Ed Koch, who was booed in last year's Labor Day parade.

In Chicago, 40,000 people lined Michigan Avenue, led by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. Although speakers and marchers criticized the labor policies of the Reagan administration, Chicago's march drew a bipartisan turnout of politicians from Democratic Mayor Harold Washington and U.S. Senate candidate Paul Simon to Republican Sen. Charles Percy and Gov. James Thompson. Kirkland also marched in Omaha, where 35,000 joined the rally.

Perhaps the most notable Solidarity event was in the northern Wisconsin city of Merrill. With a population of 10,000, Merrill's Solidarity parade attracted almost 60,000 people, more than five times the number of city residents.

Hardesty credits Solidarity Day III with "putting labor back into Labor Day." Even in small cities and towns the event drew thousands of supporters to Labor Day picnics and parades that usually draw only hundreds, he said, "and that may be a bigger success than the cities with the big numbers."

—Joan Walsh

## Atari workers sue firm, allege company concealed run-away

SAN FRANCISCO—Two former Atari Inc. employees have filed a class action suit in California, charging that the company violated workers' rights when it fired 600 employees without warning last February.

The lawsuit, which seeks \$3 million in lost wages and \$10 million in punitive damages, alleges that Atari violated California fraud and contract laws by concealing its plans to move production overseas.

On February 22, Atari announced it would fire 1,700 workers from its home video game and home computer divisions and move those operations to Hong Kong and Taiwan. The two workers named in the suit, Maria Carson and Rudolfo Villanueva, were among the first 600 workers fired that day.

Linda Krieger, an attorney with the Employment Law Center in San Francisco, is represent-

ing the employees. In a recent press conference, Krieger said the suit is based on the following allegations:

- Atari's decision to move overseas had been made in 1981, at least a year before its public announcement.

- Atari officials continued to reassure workers verbally that their jobs were secure. Carson and Villanueva, for instance, were told they would be employed until 1985.

- Atari fired many of its employees without advance notice.

The suit also charges that Atari violated state fraud laws by intentionally misrepresenting and concealing its impending move overseas, as well as its plans to fire employees. It also argues that Atari violated commercial laws relating to fairness and reasonable notice of contract termination.

Atari spokesman Bruce Entin

said the company had no comment on the lawsuit.

Atari reportedly revealed it planned the firings in statements the firm made before the National Labor Relations Board, which was considering an unfair labor practices complaint filed against the company last spring.

The Glaziers and Glass Workers in San Jose, Calif., had charged that Atari was sidestepping a union drive by moving production to Asia. That complaint was dismissed last June. (The Glaziers later requested an election at Atari, but withdrew its petition after it failed to produce the required number of union cards.)

If the lawsuit is successful, it will be considered a landmark decision on workers' rights, said Chris Redburn of the Employment Law Center.

"It will confirm that employers who bear responsibility for the economic well-being of California citizens have to live up to that responsibility," Redburn said. "They will have to let employees know if they are about to pull the rug from underneath them."

—Kathleen Sullivan



## CITIZENS PARTY

## Party wavers on fielding 1984 slate

By Paul Rauber

SAN FRANCISCO

IT'S NOT EVERY DAY A POLITICAL party is handed a historical opportunity on a platter. "History never asks you twice," feminist leader and Mormon heretic Sonia Johnson told the Citizens Party (CiP) national convention meeting here.

Yet during the September 2-5 meeting the party was offered not one but two chances to jump on the history train. Although it was not a nominating convention, presidential politics dominated the discussion. The strategy adopted in the end left as much space as possible for shifts in power politics in the coming months.

Johnson made a strong pitch for the CiP to move beyond its traditional ecology and disarmament base to pursue the feminist vote, offering herself as the party's presidential candidate. Such a candidacy, she claimed, would exploit the

Barry Commoner proposed a second.

Commoner described to the delegates an unprecedented social movement in the country, sparked by hatred of Reagan and distrust of the Democrats and led by Operation PUSH director Jesse Jackson. The CiP, Commoner argued, should take a place in Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" and join in the task of signing up millions of disenfranchised voters. The CiP's 1980 presidential candidate sees the Jackson candidacy as providing the first chance in American history for "a major left thrust" in a presidential campaign. The implication was clear that if the CiP did not participate in the coalition, it would be left in the dust of history.

"My hypothesis," Commoner told *In These Times*, "is that there is a pent-up call for the kind of campaign Jackson wants to run, that he wants it to be based on a broad coalition. If it happens, any progressive group that doesn't participate in it will be irrelevant."

In 1980, the CiP got Commoner on the ballot in 30 states, garnering nearly a quarter of a million votes. This was disappointingly short of "the magic 5 percent" that would have gained the party the matching federal campaign funds John Anderson now enjoys. Since the election, party members have ceaselessly debated the wisdom of a small party with limited resources running a largely symbolic presidential campaign.

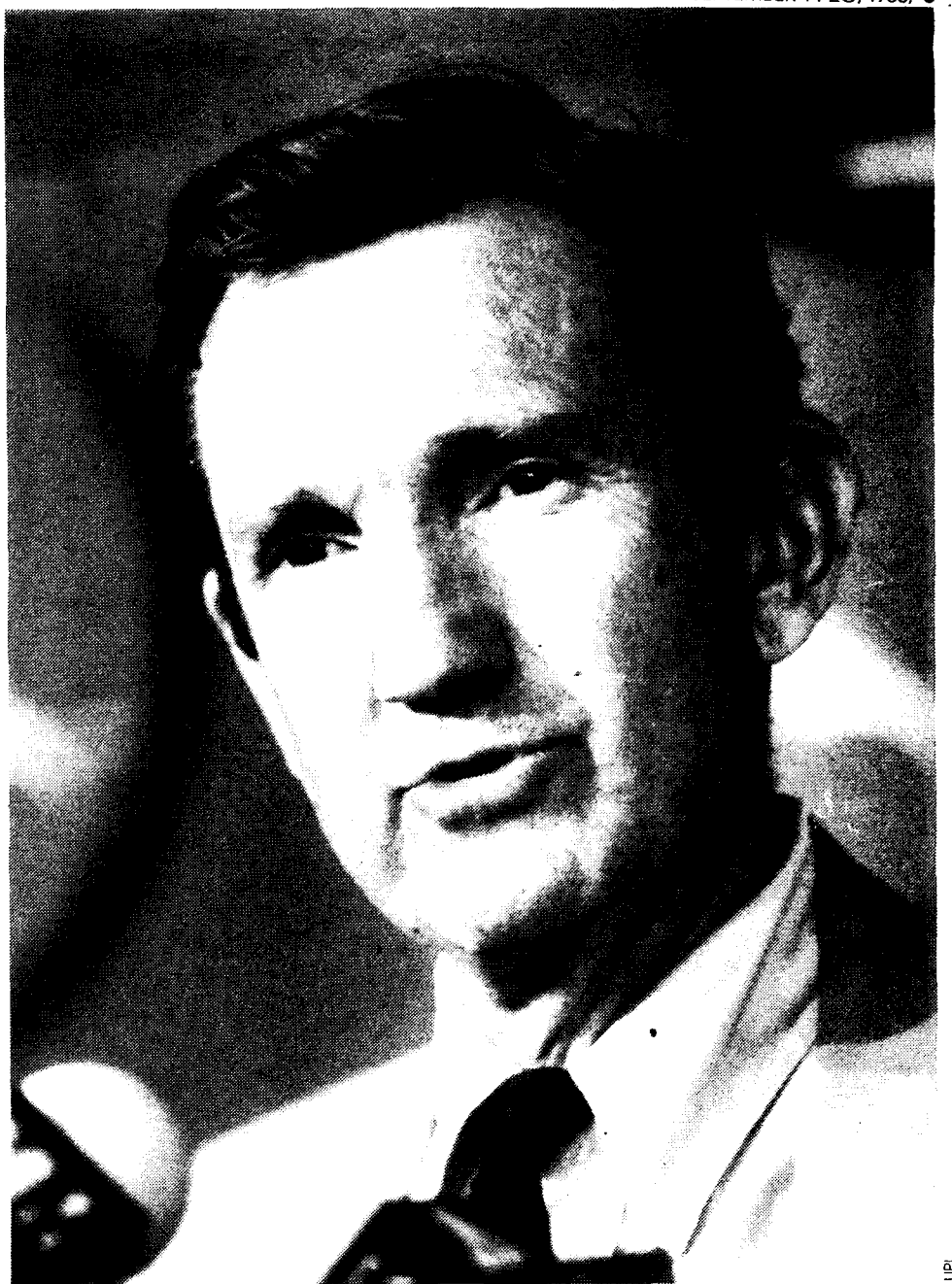
A majority of the respondents to a June membership poll favored a strategy besides another nationwide presidential campaign. Yet presidential fever burns hot among the party's most active sector and its leadership. The convention overwhelmingly voted to pursue a presidential campaign strategy, despite some opposition from the party's western region. Part of that opposition is a result of extremely restrictive ballot-access laws in California, but there is also strong sentiment in the West for working with Jackson.

Anxious to preserve its autonomy as a third party, there is substantial opposition within the CiP to supporting Democratic candidates. Former U.S. Attorney

## Commoner sees Jackson's bid as a chance for a major left thrust.

gender gap, rally progressive forces and excite the media bored by Reagan's Democratic opposition. "People who think like you are the tools of history," Johnson told the 175 delegates. "I don't see how you can justify not running a woman."

Although it has organizations in 30 states and considers itself the largest political party of the non-Marxist left in the U.S., the CiP has so far not been able to move beyond its admittedly narrow base of white leftists. Johnson offered one strategy for doing so; CiP founder



Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark

General Ramsey Clark, himself a possible CiP presidential nominee, argues that the party should urge Jackson to run but still field its own candidates. "You don't abandon what you stand for just because you'd be left in the dust," he told *In These Times*.

But a strong pitch for Jackson came from the Democratic Socialists of America's (DSA) Manning Marable, who advocates an "inside/outside" strategy for working within the Democratic Party. Marable urged critical support for Jackson on the principle that anything that throws the Democratic primary process into chaos will benefit the left by opening up a greater political space. Marable received a standing ovation, and for a while it looked like the convention might ap-

prove a pro-Jackson resolution after all.

But it all fell apart Monday. Sonia Johnson unexpectedly withdrew her candidacy, having come to the conclusion that the CiP was not ready for a feminist candidate. The resolutions in support of Jackson never made the floor, and the convention instead adopted a Texas proposal giving each state substantial autonomy in its presidential strategy. Those who want to support Jackson may. If by the CiP's early spring nominating convention the Jackson campaign has gathered the momentum Commoner and Marable predict, the CiP may find itself hard pressed to field its own slate of candidates.

Paul Rauber writes regularly for the San Francisco Bay Guardian.

By Myles Gordon

NEW YORK

AT THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY convention held here two weeks ago, there were echoes of leftist third-party efforts—internecine feuds over "principle vs. politics," intensity of purpose and a unifying dislike of the two major parties and the Reagan administration. Just what these 500 delegates from 48 states disliked about the status quo, however, was different from the leftists.

Libertarians are angry, said David Boaz, vice president of the Cato Institution, a Libertarian think-tank, because "Reagan took a lot of our rhetoric and didn't implement many of our ideas."

Some Libertarians regarded this administration as the best opportunity yet to implement their party's strategies, given all of Reagan's talk about "getting the government off people's backs." Reagan's former domestic advisor Martin Anderson, for example, was an avowed libertarian, though not a party member. But though, like the president, Libertarians support property owners' rights and oppose taxes, they don't like Reagan's three-year, \$100 billion, "supply-side" tax cut because, in theory at least, it is ultimately supposed to raise revenues. The problem, Boaz said, is that even Republicans "don't want to abolish taxes, but cut them."

Like leftists, Libertarians point out the tax cut merely reallocated the tax

## LIBERTARIAN PARTY

## Jilted Reagan suitors wise up

burden from the rich to the poor. But a Libertarian delegate who is an economist for Standard Oil in Illinois (and claims he was interviewed for a job in David Stockman's Office of Management and Budget) said that "people have figured out ways of covering themselves from regressive taxation and points to the 'underground economy' as libertarianism in action.

"We want government off our backs in a big way, not the way Reagan is doing it," said Willie Starr Marshall, a delegate from Utah. Echoing leftists who see the Democratic Party as their obstacle to power, Marshall said the Libertarians' success will be measured by "the death of the Republican Party."

"We are further away from the establishment than the socialists are so we are in effect a more radical party than they are," said Ed Clark, who received over 900,000 votes as 1980 Libertarian presidential candidate (more than three times as many as Citizen's Party's Barry Commoner, who often dismisses his rivals as "anarchists for the rich"). In Clark's presidential bid, he went after left votes, stressing the party's support for freedom of choice on abortion, opposition to the

draft and abolition of penalties for victimless crimes (and polygamy, said Utah delegate Marshall). Clark said the Libertarians are drawing increasing support from groups leftists have regarded as home turf—voters turned off by the two-party system and younger voters.

Earl Ravenal, who teaches international relations at Georgetown University, sounded like many on the left when he called for "substantive disarmament" and "lots less for defense"—\$140 billion, a little more than half of Reagan's 1984 military budget. Ravenal said the administration's military policies are "merely a continuation of bipartisan policies," and added that while even Alan Cranston "would build up our conventional forces, we want to take them down."

Ravenal was a contender for the party's presidential nomination, but the delegates eventually supported California lawyer and party leader Ed Bergland. Bergland personifies the party's largely professional, West Coast base of support. For vice president, delegates chose James Lewis, a Connecticut salesman.

In 1980, vice-presidential candidate David Koch contributed \$2 million to the Libertarian Party from his family's oil

business. But partly because of disapproval of a lingering \$300,000 campaign debt—in a party that supports a balanced budget—many delegates were wary of predicting as large a campaign as that which produced the 900,000 votes for Ed Clark.

Some delegates recommended learning from leftist third parties. David Friedman, son of economist Milton Friedman, advocated adopting the "essentially successful strategy of the American Socialist Party" earlier in the century, by getting a major party—in the Socialist case, the Democrats—to adopt and enact many of its programs.

Though not all delegates agreed with him, Friedman said he wouldn't be pleased if a Libertarian convention picked a successful presidential candidate. "That would mean the professional [politicians] would beat us amateurs."

Myles Gordon is a New York-based freelance writer.



By John B. Judis

**A**FTER BOTH WORLD WARS, the U.S. endured red scares. But the second red scare—from 1945-54—lasted longer and was more significant than the first one.

During this red scare, the federal government set up loyalty boards and Congress passed the draconian McCarran Act, which required Communists and members of Communist fronts to register with the government as well as establishing detention camps for these presumed traitors in the case of a national emergency.

More than 150 cities passed ordinances aimed at stamping out Communism. Birmingham, Ala., ordered all Communists to leave town; Jacksonville, Fla., made it illegal to communicate with a present or former Communist.

Several states also took action. Ohio made Communists ineligible for unemployment compensation, while Tennessee ordered the death penalty for anyone seeking to overthrow the state government. Texas Governor Allan Shivers proposed making Communist Party membership a capital crime.

These measures were not simply imposed from above, but reflected popular fears. In April 1947, the Gallup poll found 61 percent of Americans in favor and only 26 percent opposed to outlawing the Communist Party. By the next year, 68 percent were in favor. According to a February 1948 *Fortune* poll, 10 percent of Americans believed that Communists were capable of dominating the nation and 35 percent believed that they were "getting stronger and already in control of important elements in the economy."

The second red scare was of immense historical importance. It was an essential ingredient of the Truman administration's foreign policy. And it caused a profound crisis in the American left and right, which affected their later development.

#### The causes.

The red scare would not have arisen had not a majority of Americans already found Communism repellant. In his recently published study of McCarthyism, *A Conspiracy So Immense*, David Oshinsky argues that both the post-World War I and post-World War II red scares were based in part on existing popular fear of Communism.

If anything, these fears were more pronounced among lower income groups. According to a May 1941 Gallup poll, 72 percent of lower-income respondents were in favor of outlawing the Communist Party, while only 16 percent were opposed to doing so. Among upper-income respondents, the percentage was slightly different, 70 to 28.

But popular fears were merely the condition without which the red scare could not exist. The fears were heightened and intensified by specific actions and events. Three kinds of causes were particularly important:

- *Spies and satellites:* Soviet installation of client regimes in Eastern Europe and the victory of the Chinese Communists in 1949 raised popular fears of a worldwide Soviet takeover, as did the Soviet explosion in 1949 of its first atomic bomb. And a series of spectacular spy cases in the U.S., Canada and Great Britain suggested a Communist attempt to influence government policy through the infiltration of its agents.

In 1946, Canada arrested 22 people accused of spying; in 1948, former Communists Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley, appearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUCAC), charged that several high government officials had worked with the party and with Soviet agents. One of those that Chambers accused was former State Department official Alger Hiss, who had supervised the American delegation to the Yalta talks where Roosevelt met Stalin and other European leaders to discuss the fate of post-war Europe. Hiss was indicted for perjury for denying to a New York grand jury that he had passed class-

ified documents to Chambers and was convicted in 1950.

In 1950, British nuclear physicist Klaus Fuchs confessed to spying for the Soviet Union. The FBI later arrested nine Americans, including Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, on charges that they were part of a Soviet spy ring (see story page 8).

- *The Truman Doctrine:* After World War II, American policymakers in the Truman administration were deeply concerned about restricting the spread of Soviet Communism, diverting revolutionary independence movements and preventing the recurrence of the Great Depression. They believed that to prevent a new depression they would have to rebuild the economies of Europe (including that of Germany) with American aid and win European acceptance of an "open" world economy without tariffs or currency blocks.

American policymakers were as concerned with Britain's imperial preference system or with French restrictions on dollar imports as they were with Soviet-sponsored *putsches* in Czechoslovakia or Hungary. But, as Richard M. Freeland has argued in *The Truman Doctrine and the Origin of McCarthyism*, Truman officials played to and heightened popular fears of Soviet expansion in order to overcome popular resistance to massive economic aid for Western Europe. They argued that, without this aid, these countries would inevitably fall under the sway of Soviet Communism. For the same reason, they also created government loyalty boards.

- *Partisan politics:* Both the Republicans—in order to discredit New Deal Democrats—and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover played on popular fears of Communism for their own ends. In 1946, GOP Chairman Carroll Reece declared that "from a long-range viewpoint the choice which confronts Americans is between Communism and Republicanism," and Republicans hammered on this theme during the elections.

In 1950, Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy, who had accused his 1946 Democratic opponent of being "Communistically inclined," but had largely ignored the Communist threat during his first term, embarked on a one-man crusade against alleged Communist penetration of the State Department. In his famous Wheeling, W.Va., speech, he claimed to have the names of 205 "men at the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring." McCarthy had no such names, but the Senate Republican leadership, sensing the political value of McCarthy's attacks, defended him.

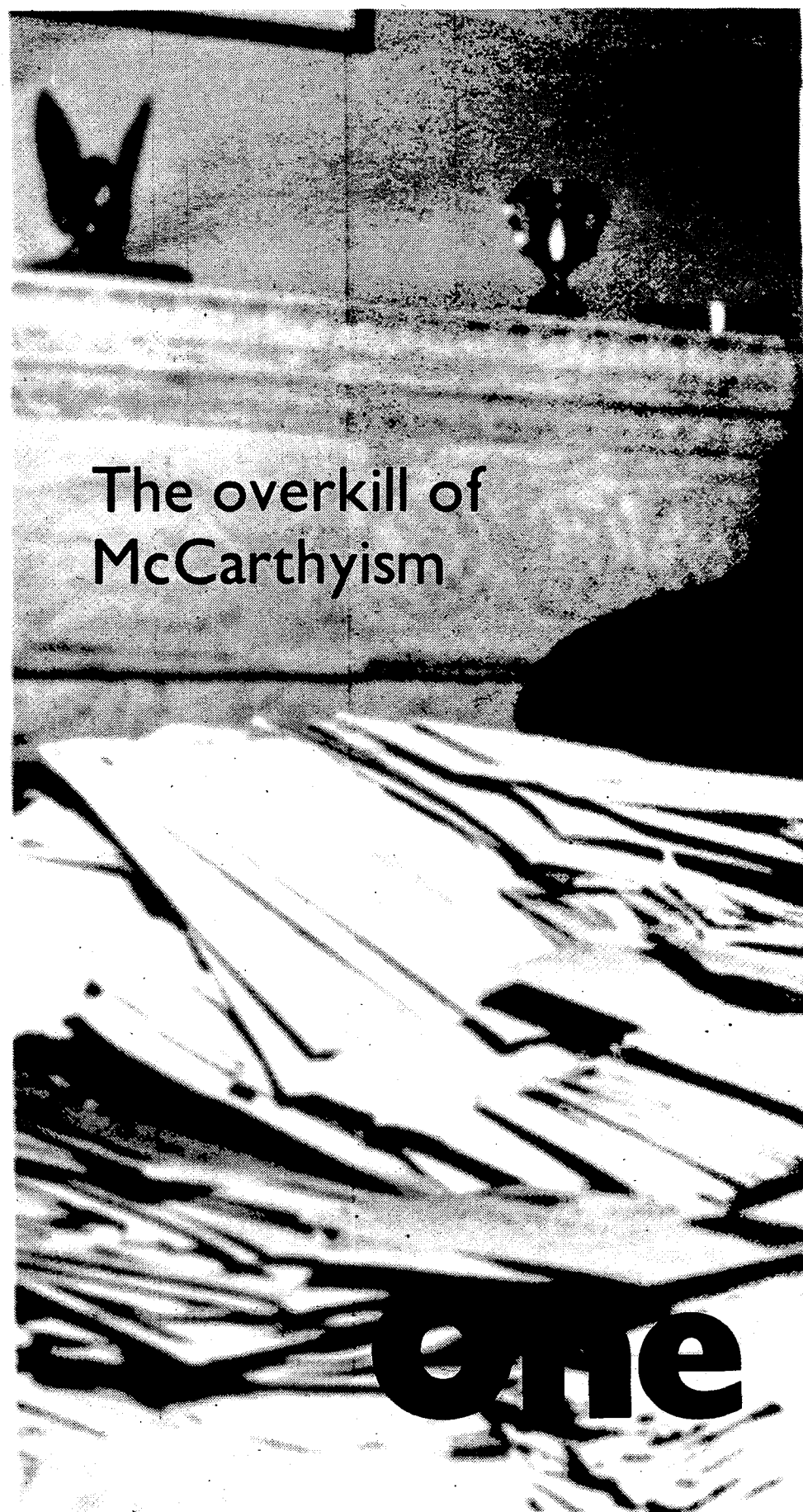
The FBI's Hoover had a bureaucratic interest in enflaming the fears of Communism. By doing so, he increased the prestige of and the appropriations for his agency. In 1946, Hoover announced that "during the past five years, American Communists have made their deepest inroads upon our national life." Hoover estimated that in the U.S. there was one Communist for every 1,814 people, compared to one Bolshevik for every 2,771 Russians in 1917.

#### The bedeviling question.

The question that has bedeviled historians and political intellectuals has been how relatively important each of these factors was in creating the red scare. Right-wing authors have tended to emphasize the external and internal Communist threat, arguing that the Republican and FBI responses were altogether appropriate and that the Truman administration's response was, if anything, too little, too late.

Some left-wing authors have argued that the red scare was entirely manufactured. They contend that if the U.S. had attempted to co-exist with the Soviet Union after World War II, the Soviet Union would have moved out of Eastern Europe. And they argue that Hiss and the Rosenbergs were framed.

Both views are mistaken. The Soviet Union was determined to exert political control over Eastern Europe after World War II, but it was not interested in sending its tanks across the Rhine. It was con-



## The overkill of McCarthyism

cerned with creating buffer states rather than world Communism. And the Chinese revolution, as Owen Lattimore and other China hands argued, was distinct from and potentially antagonistic to Soviet Communism. The specter of world Soviet domination was largely manufactured.

The same is true of the domestic threat. While Hiss and at least one of the Rosenbergs may have been guilty, neither HUCAC nor McCarthy ever unearthed the slightest evidence of post-war Communist infiltration of the State Department. (Even in the Hiss and the Rosenberg cases, the actual secrets alleged to have been transmitted were of dubious value.) And the American Communist Party was hardly on the verge of taking power. After 1946, it could not elect any of its members to power, and its support for former Vice-President Henry Wallace in 1948 contributed to his dismal showing in a third-party presidential bid.

There was some reason for Americans to be concerned about Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. There was also some reason for Americans to be repelled by a political party whose ideal society denied to its citizens the fundamental freedoms Americans had secured over two centuries of popular struggles. But there was no rational basis for the anti-Communist hysteria that swept the country after World War II.

#### The results.

Some left-wing authors assume the red scare destroyed the American left and prepared the way for the American right. But the results were far more complicated.

The red scare must be divided into two phases. The first, from 1946 to 1951,

was dominated by the Truman administration's Cold War policies, Republican attacks on the administration for losing China and the Hiss and Rosenberg cases. The second, from 1951 to 1954, was totally dominated by McCarthy.

In its first phase, the red scare weakened the left and strengthened the right. This was particularly true on foreign policy issues. Socialists and liberals like Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Daniel Bell, Richard Rovere, Sidney Hook and Reinhold Niebhr joined the more conservative anti-Communists of the *American Mercury* or *Plain Talk* in making the Communist threat their defining preoccupation. When the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF) was formed, Schlesinger, Rovere, Hook, Dwight Macdonald and others were active alongside former leftists who had turned to the right such as James Burnham, Max Eastman, Ralph De Toledano and Whittaker Chambers.

Under the impact of the red scare, many of these liberals and socialists not only backed Truman's foreign policy but they also abandoned socialism for a modest Keynesianism. In 1946 Schlesinger was explaining to *Partisan Review* readers why he was a socialist; by 1950 he was defining the new corporate liberalism.

Liberals also modified their conception of the Bill of Rights to fit the Red Scare. In a famous article, "Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No," socialist philosopher Sidney Hook denied Communists the blessings of the Constitution. In accordance with Hook's view, the American Civil Liberties Union decided that Communists were not entitled to its protection.





# R E D SCARE RECONSIDERED

## step too far

The initial red scare also had a profound impact on some former Communists, Trotskyists and Socialists who had begun moving right in the late '30s. For people like Ralph De Toledano, the Hiss case had the same historical significance as the Sacco-Vanzetti case had had. Just as the Sacco-Vanzetti case made socialists of liberals, the Hiss case made conservatives or rightists of former Communists.

Within the government, the initial red scare—and the first two years of McCarthy's reign—redounded upon the policies it was initially supposed to sustain. The red scare led, finally, to the ouster from government of an entire generation of China hands and their replacement by dogmatic anti-Maoists like Dean Rusk, who later took 10 years to recognize the existence of the Sino-Soviet split.

Among the general public, the Truman administration and the Republicans got most—if not too much—of what they wanted from the initial red scare. A majority backed Truman's Cold War policies and the Marshall Plan. There was little opposition to American intervention in the Korean war. The Republicans scored impressive gains in the 1946, 1950 and 1952 elections. And Hoover got his budgets.

### Anti-Communism discredited.

In the second phase of the red scare many liberals abandoned ship, and eventually many other people left, too. Most of the liberals in the ACCF or ACLU had been critical of McCarthy from the beginning, but after the Republicans captured the Senate in 1952 and McCarthy assumed a committee chairmanship and the right to hold hearings, they became

genuinely alarmed.

One of McCarthy's first targets in 1953 was the Voice of America and the International Information Administration (IIA). McCarthy caused numerous resignations. He also initiated a campaign to remove 30,000 books by "Communist" authors from the IIA's overseas libraries. Among these authors were Schlesinger, John Dewey, Theodore White and Robert Hutchins.

McCarthy's Voice of America crusade proved to be the last straw for many liberals. (The population at large would abandon McCarthy after the next year's Army-McCarthy hearings.) Beginning in 1953, liberals like Schlesinger, Rovere, Bell and Macdonald made opposition to McCarthyism rather than Communism their priority. They broke with conservatives and rightists like Burnham, De Toledano and Eastman over McCarthy.

The *Partisan Review* editors expelled Burnham from the board for his "neutrality" toward McCarthy. When McCarthy attacked former Atomic Energy Commission Chairman J. Robert Oppenheimer, the ACCF championed Oppenheimer, and prominent physicists within the ACCF petitioned to have Burnham expelled for his support of the attacks against Oppenheimer. By 1955, Burnham, Chambers, Eastman and De Toledano had resigned from the ACCF.

ACCF members even tried to exert an anti-McCarthy discipline upon their staff. When the ACCF's executive director signed the same anti-Communist statement that McCarthy defender William F. Buckley had signed, Bell threatened to have him removed for associating with McCarthyites.

The change in the attitude of liberals

within the ACCF betokened a general shift back toward the left among many of those who had turned right under the impact of the initial red scare. In 1959, Rovere would publish his scathing biography of McCarthy. In the '60s, Macdonald and *Partisan Review* editor Philip Rahv would become prominent opponents of the Vietnam war. (Schlesinger's conversion back would be prevented by his fascination with the powerful.) The ACCF would eventually disband, but the ACLU would again become a defender of everyone's liberties.

In the early '60s, opposition to McCarthyism (as it came to be called) would animate the New Left. Perhaps, the first important demonstration by the predominantly white student left was the May 1960 anti-HUAC demonstration in San Francisco, in which 68 students were arrested. The discrediting of the red scare was also a necessary condition for the growth of popular opposition to the Vietnam war.

McCarthy's excesses seriously split the American right. While McCarthy inspired the right's lunatic fringe, he stirred doubts among conservative intellectuals. De Toledano wrote later, "Though the intellectuals who rallied to McCarthy did so for many reasons, a common denominator existed—the unvoiced, and ultimately suppressed, conviction that by clambering into the arena they were making certain compromises."

When William Buckley asked Whittaker Chambers to write a favorable blurb for the jacket of his and Brent Bozell's defense of McCarthy, *McCarthy and His Enemies*, Chambers refused. "None of us are [McCarthy's] enemies," Chambers wrote Buckley in early 1954, "but all of

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us, to one degree or another, have slowly come to question his judgment and to fear acutely that his flair for the sensational, his inaccuracies and distortions, his tendency to sacrifice the greater objective for the momentary effect, will lead him and us into trouble."

When Buckley's *National Review* magazine first appeared in November 1955, several prominent conservatives—including T.S. Eliot, Peter Viereck and Allen Tate—refused to endorse it or appear on its masthead because of the editor-in-chief's support for McCarthy.

As Chambers feared, McCarthy ended up dividing and weakening the right that had earlier been strengthened by the Cold War and the Hiss case.

### The legacy.

In her memoir of the McCarthy period, *Scoundrel Time*, playwright Lillian Hellman suggests that the Nixon administration's attempts to suppress civil liberties, which were exposed during the Watergate hearings, were themselves a continuation of the McCarthy period. If Americans had understood the evils of McCarthyism they would never have elected Nixon in 1968: "It is not true that when the bell tolls, it tolls for thee: if it were true, we could not have elected, so few years later, Richard Nixon, a man who had been closely allied with McCarthy."

There is, of course, some truth in what Hellman writes. But Nixon knew when to disassociate himself from McCarthy. In March 1954, as vice-president, he delivered the speech that signalled the Eisenhower administration's break with McCarthy. Earlier, as a member of HUAC and as a House and Senate candidate in California, he had certainly done his part to exploit popular fears of Communism, but by 1968 Americans had forgotten this side of Nixon's past, as they had forgotten a similar side in Hubert Humphrey's.

Yet the lessons of McCarthy's fall lived on in 1968 during the Nixon administration. Faced with a popular opposition to the Vietnam war and a militant black movement, Nixon could not resort to the open red scare techniques of the Truman years. Attempts to use trials or HUAC hearings against the '60s radicals were uniformly unsuccessful. Instead, the Nixon administration had to employ covert operations like the FBI's COINTELPRO program. Likewise, Nixon could not hope to red-bait his Democratic opposition in the manner in which he had red-baited his congressional opponents in the '50s. Instead, Nixon had to resort to the kind of "dirty tricks" that led to the Watergate scandal.

The Watergate scandal strengthened the legacy of McCarthy's fall. Both the House and Senate subversive activities committees were finally dissolved. In 1975, Alger Hiss was even readmitted to the Massachusetts state bar.

In the '80s, McCarthy's fall haunts the Reagan administration's attempts to intervene in Central America. In the late '40s, the Truman administration used the red scare in order to convince Americans to back massive economic aid to Western Europe. In 1950, Truman officials used it to justify American intervention in Korea, which had been divided into two parts at the end of World War II. With American intervention in the Third World, the rationale was similar: if the U.S. did not intervene, the Soviet Union would increase its holdings and be that much closer to world domination.

During the Korean war, the argument took. During the Vietnam war, it did not. When McCarthy was discredited in 1954 and the red scare began to evaporate, Americans' traditional skepticism about entangling alliances and foreign intervention resurfaced. In the '80s, this skepticism has stymied the Reagan administration's attempts to increase military and economic aid to the autocratic regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras and to the counter-revolutionary army in Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration has responded by trying to link the rebels in El Salvador or Guatemala with Moscow. While these arguments have had some impact, they have not taken hold. The red scare destroyed itself in the '50s. ■



By James Weinstein

On June 19, 1953, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed in the electric chair at Sing Sing prison in Ossining, N.Y. They were the first and only Americans ever put to death on the charge of conspiracy to commit espionage.

Yet, their deaths had little to do with the seriousness of the crime with which they were charged and everything to do with the politics of the Cold War. This was made clear in Judge Irving R. Kaufman's statement in passing sentence on the Rosenbergs. Their crime, he said, was "worse than murder." Their conduct "in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000."

Indeed, he continued, the Rosenbergs had "undoubtedly altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country." Kaufman passed this sentence and made this statement even though he knew that, at most, the information provided Rosenberg by his brother-in-law David Greenglass and passed on to the Russians was of marginal importance. The judge knew that the Russians had been informed about the bomb in much greater depth over a period of years by an infinitely knowledgeable source—Klaus Fuchs, a British nuclear scientist who worked on the bomb in Britain and then with other top scientists at Los Alamos, N.M. Fuchs had freely confessed doing this, and had been sentenced to 14 years in prison, the maximum allowed under British law for passing state secrets to an ally in time of war.

At the time of their conviction, few Americans on the right or the left seemed to doubt the Rosenbergs' guilt. On the left, the Communist Party studiously ignored the case. Its leaders, if not its members, appear to have assumed the worst and were petrified by the possibility that Julius or Ethel would break down under threat of death. If either did cooperate with the FBI and implicate others who, like themselves, had been party members, Communists feared a final crackdown on the party, whose leaders were already being prosecuted under the Smith Act of 1940.

But the death sentences, particularly Ethel's, were so outrageously vindictive and so apparently political that it was only a matter of time—and not much time at that—before someone, or some group protested. Convicted in March 1951, the Rosenbergs found their first public defenders in August, when the *National Guardian*, an independent weekly newspaper edited by Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson, began a series of articles by reporter William Reuben. Those articles inspired the organization of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, a group that struggled valiantly to arouse public concern with limited success until November 1952, when the Communist Party in the U.S. (apparently convinced that the Rosenbergs would not talk) and Communist parties throughout the world joined the campaign and helped make the case an international *cause celebre*.

From the beginning, horror over the death sentences overshadowed concern with the Rosenbergs' guilt or innocence. Thus the two issues, which were in fact separate, became inextricably intertwined. The *Guardian* assumed, after consultation with Julius' lawyer Emanuel Bloch, not only that the death sentences were intended to "silence opposition to the government's imperialist war policies," but also that the Rosenbergs were simply "victims of an out-and-out political frame-up." Not even the death sentences, however, were purely political. They were also an attempt to force Julius to talk about his other espionage activities.

The Rosenbergs' defenders saw them as innocent pawns, mysteriously chosen for slaughter at the altar of the Cold War. On the other side, those who believed them guilty of atomic espionage generally saw them as deserving what they got.

From the beginning, however, there were individuals, like I.F. Stone, who believed that the Rosenberg executions were a legal form of political murder—even if, as appeared quite possible, they had been engaged in espionage.

But those holding such views were forced to maintain a low profile as the Rosenberg defense committees and the Communist Party made it an article of faith that Julius and Ethel were chosen, seemingly by chance, as the result of a government conspiracy to intimidate and discredit opponents of the Cold War. This was the view of the Committee to Secure Justice in 1951, and it is the view of the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, organized in 1974. (The latter group is responsible for securing the release of some 250,000 pages of FBI and other documents under the Freedom of Information Act.) This was also the view of Walter and Miriam Schneir's *Invitation to an Inquest*, the most substantial of the books written in defense of the Rosenbergs, published in 1965 and reissued this summer with 57 pages of new material.

#### The Rosenberg file.

Both Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors of *The Rosenberg File, A Search for Truth*, were initially among those who believed in the Rosenbergs' innocence. But a close examination of the 250,000 documents secured by the Committee to Re-Open—inspired, as Radosh notes in this book, by a story I told him about my chance acquaintance with Julius Rosenberg—convinced him that Rosenberg was involved in espionage. In fact, Radosh believes Julius was the center of a group of amateur spies who decided on their own to help the Soviet Union develop and modernize its economy, and who also passed along information on military matters, including the atomic bomb.

Radosh and Milton conclude that Julius set up in 1943, on his own initiative, an espionage network consisting predominantly of City College engineering classmates and fellow Communists or sympathizers. His connection to the atomic bomb came about by chance when David Greenglass, Ethel's brother and an Army sergeant, was assigned to work in a machine shop at the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos, N.M., in the summer of 1944. A committed young Communist, David was an eager recruit who supplied information of marginal importance confirming material already passed on to the Russians by Klaus Fuchs.

Ethel was at most peripherally involved in this activity. Her arrest had little or nothing to do with her own deeds, according to Radosh and Milton, but was ordered as a means to make Julius talk—a "lever," in the words of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. Radosh and Milton also see the death sentences primarily as levers designed to make Julius talk, though the authors do note that the first discussion of execution came from high up in the Truman administration—from Gordon Dean, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, who, according to his diary, had discussed this with the attorney general before the trial began. Radosh and Milton do not explore this point, but it seems likely that these men would also have discussed the matter with the President, and that the sentences were as much a part of the politics of the Cold War as of a narrow prosecution strategy.

*The Rosenberg File* is a thoroughly and carefully researched book. Its conclusions flow from an overwhelming mass of evidence, carefully checked for corroboration wherever possible. It seems to me that any reader not encumbered with an ideological axe to grind would find Radosh's and Milton's conclusions convincing, though, as the authors state, this is not the final word because much documentary evidence is still unavailable.

Yet this does not mean that the book is not controversial. Walter Goodman in the August 14 *New York Times Book Review* section, commented that "having succumbed to the facts," Radosh and Milton are "ripe for excommunication" from the left. And, indeed, in the *Guardian* and other sectarian left publications

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RECONSIDERED

# Spies a



they have already been accused of being sellouts and trying to revive the Cold War. (Soon, it will probably be discovered that their mothers were Mensheviks.)

There are not a large number of people who have an ideological stake in the Rosenbergs' innocence, but those who do see any suggestion that the Rosenbergs might have been engaged in espionage as an attack on the left in general and as giving

fodder to the Reagan administration and its bellicose policies. But nothing could be further from the truth. First of all, as *Time* magazine's review of *The Rosenberg File* indicates, the parts of the book that will have the greatest impact on most readers are those that reveal the improper, unethical and sometimes vicious behavior of the prosecution, the FBI and Judge Kaufman. Outside of the small cir-



## BOOK REVIEW

The Rosenberg File:  
A Search for the Truth

By Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton  
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 608 pp., \$22.50

# nd victims

ments, for an understanding of Communists' motivation for giving aid, even in the form of illegally gathered information, to the Soviet Union in the years before Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 report on Stalin's crimes.

## Aiding the revolution.

Putting aside for a moment the question of Julius Rosenberg's involvement in espionage, we know that Communists and their sympathizers had strong reasons for wanting to help the Soviets in these years. First, starting with the initial five-year plan in 1929, Russia—Europe's most backward nation—was engaged in an unprecedented period of forced industrialization. Second, it was doing this in the face of hostility on the part of all capitalist nations. Third, initially all socialists and, by the late '30s, the Communists and their sympathizers viewed the Soviet Union as the embodiment of socialist principles and as the leader of the world revolutionary movement. Thus help for the Soviet Union was not understood to be in any way detrimental to the American working class but only to the American ruling class—because, Communists believed, Soviet modernization could only strengthen democratic forces throughout the world.

We also know that the Soviet Union, like every other nation, engaged in espionage and that it had a particular need for information about industrial processes and military materiel, which was either unavailable through normal channels or cheaper to steal than to buy. In that situation, most Communists would likely have engaged in information-gathering if asked—unless they were unwilling to take the personal risk of doing so.

This, of course, does not mean that Julius Rosenberg or any other Communist was a spy. In fact, it was unusual for party members to be asked to engage in espionage, both because of the likelihood that they would be more easily detected than non-Communists and because of the danger to the party if it was identified with spying.

If Radosh and Milton are correct in their findings, Rosenberg—who, along with Ethel, was a party member in the early '40s—was not asked to become a spy but decided on his own to feed information about electronic processes to the Soviets. And as soon as he made contact and was accepted as an agent, he and Ethel dropped out of the party. By 1950, when they were arrested, Julius and Ethel had not been involved in political activity for seven years. Thus there was little reason for them to be chosen by the Truman administration as a warning to "progressives"—as their defenders claim.

The Schneirs and other Rosenberg defenders say that Greenglass' implication of the Rosenbergs, which was the basis for their arrest, was a lie motivated by anger over a dispute between Julius and David over business matters. That is a possibility, though it seems unlikely, considering the consequences. But while it was David and Ruth Greenglass' testimony that convicted Ethel and Julius, there is a web of circumstantial relationships and events having nothing to do with the atom bomb that Radosh and Milton relate and that has always seemed to me to be as convincing as the Greenglasses' testimony.

My own experience (related by Radosh and Milton) with Julius Rosenberg occurred in 1949 and 1950, four years after Greenglass allegedly passed on to Julius whatever information he had about the Manhattan Project. It indicated that the information being collected by Julius had to do with electronic equipment. Radosh and Milton detail a series of other relationships and events that seem to make sense only if there indeed were a network of friends and political associates engaged together in industrial espionage. These revolve around a group of engineers, all classmates of Julius at City College and one-time members of the same Communist Party club.

The two whose stories are most conclusive, Joel Barr and Alfred E. Sarant, disappeared either at the time of Greenglass' or Julius' arrest. Barr disappeared from his Paris apartment the day David was

*Continued on page 13*



of leftists who equate any suggestion the Rosenbergs' guilt with a conspiracy to revive the Cold War and McCarthyism, the overwhelming majority of Americans—if they have any knowledge of the case at all—already assume that Julius and Ethel were guilty. The effect of the book, therefore, will be to discredit the prosecutors of the Rosenbergs and certainly not to heat up the new Cold War.

Beyond that, Radosh and Milton have done the left, and particularly the socialist left of which they are a part, a great service in writing this book—whether their conclusions are right or wrong. First, because the American people in the past two decades have come to distrust politicians and political groups on both the left and right whose ideological commitments prevent them from examining

their assumptions honestly and fearlessly. And second, because it is important for the left to understand its own history and the reasons for its continual failure to gain popular credibility.

Radosh and Milton do not directly address this second point, although they present a good deal of material, especially in letters between David and Ruth Greenglass and in Harry Gold's state-



# R E D SCARE RECONSIDERED

By Morris Dickstein

**W**HEN E.L. DOCTOROW'S novel *The Book of Daniel* appeared in 1971 it was greeted with respectful enthusiasm. Inspired by the Rosenberg case—then widely considered a gross miscarriage of justice—and galvanized by the revival of radicalism in the 1960s, a decade embodied in the explosive passions of the book's young protagonists, the book tapped political and personal energies that eluded most other novelists. Without becoming a best seller, it quickly developed a cult following not only as a powerful work of literature but also as one of the best books ever written about the fate of the American left in the postwar period. A revisionist view of the Cold War was in the air—hardly a likely subject for fiction, but Doctorow turned it into the kind of electrifying political novel that many thought had died 20 years earlier with Norman Mailer's *Barbary Shore*. In short, the world was ready for *The Book of Daniel*.

A dozen years later in a very different political climate, when a new book by two left-wing historians (see review pages 8-9) argues that the Rosenbergs were actually guilty, a film version of Doctorow's novel called *Daniel*, directed by veteran filmmaker Sidney Lumet, has been released to a chorus of angry criticism. At the eye of this storm of controversy sits E.L. Doctorow, who both wrote and co-produced the movie, with an equal say over everything from casting to the final cut, and who some reviewers now accuse of having done less than justice to his own book.

On the day I interviewed him in the tranquil backyard of his home in Sag Harbor, Long Island, it was hard to believe that a movie on this subject had been made at all, let alone that it was receiving a daily barrage of barbed attacks from film reviewers. *Time* had contemptuously dismissed the movie in the light of the new Rosenberg book, which the reviewer gave no evidence of having read. Pauline Kael had lambasted it in *The New Yorker* as a piece of Jewish masochism and paranoia, and had even dredged up old vilifications of the Rosenbergs by Jewish intellectuals of the '50s. *Newsweek* and the daily *New York Times* had been thoughtfully critical. *New York* magazine had accused Doctorow of being "naïve about transferring his material to the screen," trying to fit everything in and producing "a half-textured, undramatic reduction of his book." Just the previous day, the *Village Voice* had devoted no less than three long articles to him, two of them exceptionally vituperative. Neoconservative reviewers would no doubt be heard from soon at much greater length.

It was no surprise that Doctorow professed to find the reception of the film as fascinating as its subject, but he spoke in the quiet, measured tones of someone who knew his own mind and was not to be derailed easily by the opinions of others.

## An independent mind.

Doctorow's fiction gives plenty of evidence of a writer who has always charted an independent course. None of his five novels resembles the others: they are written in different tones and rhythms, set in different periods and use little material from his own life. Besides *The Book of Daniel* they include an off-beat Western (*Welcome to Hard Times*), a science-fiction novel (*Big as Life*), a cartoon-like collage of the ragtime era full of out-of-

the-way lore about real historical figures (*Ragtime*) and a 1930s road novel dappled with patches of labor history (*Loon Lake*). But *Daniel* occupies an exceptional place in Doctorow's canon. Though suggested by history, it is by far his most personal book, composed in an almost strident tone of hysterical edginess, intellectual quest and burning intensity. Doctorow really gets inside Daniel, as he avoids doing with most of his characters. Writing at a time when next to nothing was known about the fate of the Rosenberg children—they only went public in 1973—he grafts his own deepest emotions and background onto the battered trunk of the Rosenberg case. He gives the public material a vividly subjective reality, as few political novels manage to do.

Doctorow did not like the movies made from *Welcome to Hard Times* and *Ragtime*, over which he had no control. He said that "there are some beautiful things" in Milos Forman's film of *Ragtime*, especially in the decor and period feeling established in the first 20 or 30 minutes, when "it looks as if it's really going to take off." But he found the film too "spare" and pared down from the abundance of his novel.

His main aim with *Daniel*—ironic after all the accusations of self-betrayal—was to "guard the integrity" of his book and to "have meaningful participation in the making of the film." Doctorow was perfectly aware of how difficult it would be to translate a novel that largely takes place inside Daniel's mind onto the screen. Where a film like *Sophie's Choice* can only profit from the near-elimination of novelist William Styron's overripe and self-indulgent narrative prose, the loss of Doctorow's edgy, quicksilver voice in *Daniel* can only seem like an amputation (though several extraordinary performances provide real compensation).

Doctorow told me he hoped he had been able to suggest, "however subliminally, that the movie was taking place in Daniel's head," through the character's close-up recitations about capital punishment, memories of his childhood and his "imaginings of his parents' life before he was born or when he was an infant"—which are part of the troubled quest into his legacy and origins. According to Doctorow, "The structure of the film is novelistic rather than simply narrative," making it unlike most films that are "linear narratives" with "no more content or scope than a short story." Doctorow resists the notion that his own fiction, with its quick cuts and abrupt transitions, its layering of fragments akin to montage, is intrinsically cinematic. But he admits that movies have "accelerated the rate of perception or the speed of response for readers," so that "we don't have to do as much exposition."

## Restrictions of film.

Doctorow described to me in pungent detail how he had first written the novel in the third-person past tense, only to discard it as boring and "really awful" after 150 pages. Then, feeling "devastated," with a "great sense of reckless despair" about his future as a writer, he sat down at the typewriter and began the novel as we now know it: Daniel's book rather than a book about Daniel. Doctorow clearly chafed at the task of transposing that breakthrough—the crackling language of Daniel's point-of-view—into scenes of straight dialog. Unfashionably, he denigrates film as a "restrictive" medium in which everything must be "told in the conventions of drama," confined by "the limited amount of information an audience can receive" and by a film's "temporal" nature, which means the audience "can't ruminate, can't specu-

late, can't stop and think." He argues that "fiction is a far more deft and flexible form, which can do anything and everything, as film can't."

Others might suggest that this simply indicates his basic literary commitment and his inexperience at handling cinematic conventions. But it's hard to deny that film is a visceral medium that resists being turned into a vehicle of ideas and veers always toward the tricky but concrete evidence of the senses. *Daniel* itself demonstrates this very well. The first 15 or 20 minutes, which fill in some of the historical and ideological context of the "progressive personality," are relatively flat just where the novel was at its strongest—this despite director Sidney Lumet's background in just such a milieu.

But starting with a scene in which the children are passed like inert missiles over the heads of a turbulent crowd at a pro-Rosenberg rally, the movie grabs us by the throat and holds on right through the starkly realized execution scenes, which are unlike anything ever mounted in an American movie. I can't imagine that any of the reviewers failed to be moved by many of these scenes, even some that don't quite build up to a dramatic payoff. Indeed, the angry overkill in many of the reviews indicates more than the presence of offensive ideas or the critic's affinity for pure cinema over social consciousness; it suggests resentment at being manipulated, at feeling things that your mind—and your preconceptions—tell you to reject.



E.L. Doctorow Essays and Conversations



DANIEL spans four decades of the American left, including this reenactment of a '30s campus protest.

# Daniel in the author's den

*Daniel's* charged-up method would not work if the movie didn't have such a drastic subject—what happens to children who lose their parents not through accident or illness but in a sensational public way, as an act of a whole nation, an expression of an era's temper and values.

## National sacrifice ritual.

Whatever the Rosenbergs did—and many of their supporters never doubted that they did *something*—there is good reason for looking at their deaths as an immense sacrificial ritual, in which the Communists and the U.S. government joined hands to make each other look bad, to lather public opinion to an hysterical pitch and hence succeeded only in disgracing themselves. In this barbaric

process the Rosenbergs, too—once they perceived they had become a “case,” a *cause celebre*—willingly participated, as their letters show. They began writing to each other for public consumption, violating both their own intimacy and their heartfelt bonds to their children.

Yet they remained the victims, since the ideological snare that entrapped them cannot be compared to the malfeasance of judges, prosecutors and cabinet members who held the public trust. “Nothing they did,” says Doctorow, “even if they were guilty to the utmost, could have done as much harm to this country as what was done to them. That's the torment of the story and that is why it will go on and on.... That case has as much standing to me as a stoning in a

public square—it's that primitive in its energies and that primeval.”

Doctorow told me that he had had only a dim awareness of the case at the time it actually happened; he was in the Army stationed in Germany when they were executed. “It wasn't until the late '60s that it occurred to me that that case had immense historical significance.” At that point, he read the trial transcripts, contemporary newspaper reports and studied up on the legal aspect—the use of conspiracy statutes. Before then, he says, little had been done on what came to be called the “survivor syndrome,” which had shown up clearly in those who had lived through the death camps, and even in their children and grandchildren. This is what he feels his book and movie are

about—not about history, not about the Rosenbergs or even the trials and tribulations of the left, of which it provides a flamboyant account, criss-crossing between three separate eras. In a striking phrase he says that Daniel and Susan, the disturbed orphans who somehow managed to grow up, “both exhibit survivor syndrome from a personal Holocaust all their own.” He rejects the charge that the film gives us a “rosy view” of the dead couple, for he sees it as “a story of two children who have been abandoned and in effect sacrificed to their parents' idealism or ideology.”

I could not resist asking him whether he had had any qualms about pre-empting and displacing the lives of real people—not so much the Rosenbergs, who belong to history and to the popular imagination, but their children, whose lives had already been so undermined. Citing books like *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Great Gatsby* and *An American Tragedy*, Doctorow argued that fiction always works from the imaginative recreation of something real. But he feels different from most writers today “for whom a novel is simply a controlled, organized and modulated perception of their own lives.” Though he set *The Book of Daniel* in a minutely detailed version of his own neighborhood in the Bronx, and obviously gave the characters many of his own feelings, he says, “I've always written with the illusion that my own life is incidental to whatever I write about.”

During our conversation he twice referred to the socially concerned writers of the '30s, including the right-wing Southern Agrarian John Crowe Ransom he later studied with at Kenyon College. In that period, he says, “there was a need for writers and artists of every kind to consider the alternatives to industrial capitalism, which seemed to be going down very quickly and disastrously to ruin.” Though that apocalypse was forestalled by the New Deal and the war, Doctorow clearly sees himself as one inheritor of a long and central tradition in social fiction, to which he has added some of the formal techniques of the avant-garde, as predecessors like Dos Passos had already done. Doctorow didn't grow up in anything like the hard-core radical household that shaped Daniel, but he remembers his socialist grandfather, a printer who came to the U.S. from Russia in the 1870s, giving him a copy of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* when he was 10 years old, and he recalls some of the papers and journals his father, who owned a record and radio store, brought home during the '30s.

Doctorow was born in 1931, so he is too young to be considered a product of the '30s. But sometimes we learn to live imaginatively in periods that feel more congenial to us than our own. Certainly novelists do. Norman Mailer, after all, who once seemed like the postwar heir to Dos Passos, has just spent a whole decade wandering in ancient Egypt. Doctorow has dramatically filled a vacuum in the long American tradition of social and political fiction. That his finest book has reached the screen reasonably intact, in a mainstream production distributed by a major studio, is something he himself finds “heartening.” *Daniel* has its flaws, including an upbeat ending that suggests that social protest can solve our personal problems. But considering what it's about and how unsettling it is, perhaps we ought to rejoice that an ambitious film is taking a serious look into one of the darkest chapters of the recent past. ■

*Morris Dickstein teaches literature and film at Queens College and was recently elected to the National Society of Film Critics.*



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## NUMBERS COUNT

THE IMPACT OF THE 1963 AND 1983 marches on Washington on the nation's consciousness is more important than any numbers game as to how many people attended.

Nevertheless, the continuing reference to the 1963 march as having had only 200,000 to 250,000 participants impels me to correct the record. The real figure was more than 400,000.

The smaller figure became the accepted one because it was announced from the Lincoln Memorial podium by A. Philip Randolph at 2 p.m. I was standing next to Randolph at the time, as a member of the march staff, and I questioned his figure. Randolph said that this was the Capitol Police estimate.

The 200,000 attendance estimate, however, was made at noon, and thousands of buses and cars, and many trainloads of people had poured in since noon, and were still coming. Randolph's sense of integrity didn't permit him to announce a higher figure unless he received it from an official source.

—Sy Rosen

Public Relations Director of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom  
New York

## DEMOCRACY

AFTER ALL OF THE RECENT (IN MY mind, justified) criticism of John Judis by your readers, I figured I'd hold up on my own letter to the editor. I even decided to let pass Judis' gratuitous snide swipes at my own organization in his article on public reaction to Reagan's policies in Central America (ITT, Aug. 10).

But it is hard to let slide Judis' criticism of "the left" in "idealizing" Nicaragua and Cuba, "for instance, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin's recent comparison in the *New York Times* between the democracy prevailing in Nicaragua

and that prevailing in the U.S. during the Articles of Confederation." I find it astonishing for a leading writer in a "socialist" newspaper to imply that the Sandinista revolution is less democratic than the first bourgeois revolution, one led by slave-owners and which denied any democratic rights to women or those without property, not to mention the indigenous people who previously owned the land.

Who is this putz, anyway?

—Michael Myerson

Executive Director, U.S. Peace Council

## NEGATIVISM

I APPRECIATED YOUR COVERAGE OF the Seneca Depot Women's Encampment (ITT, Aug. 24). To my knowledge, everything in the article was accurate, but your choice of headlines ("Peace camp draws wrath of locals") was unfortunate and the article did not do justice to the people who live in that area.

Such headlines, when there was so much good peacemaking going on, emphasizes what was most noisy, not what was most important. And to use the term "locals" when referring to people who live in rural areas is dehumanizing.

The article also emphasized the negative. It says nothing about the nearby women who brought vegetables, about the woman in the march wearing a sign proclaiming "My family has farmed here for five generations," or other women who came from nearby towns, about the major who, after much discussion with the women, turned in his badge, about a local cafe that donated two gallons of coffee to be shared by the women, local protesters and police alike.

I don't want to sugar-coat a situation that was often tense and difficult, but I do want to give credit where credit is due—in this case to the many thoughtful and considerate people of Seneca County.

—Ruth Dreamdigger

Philadelphia

## PORTENT?

I WAS PLEASED TO SEE THE ARTICLE on contemporary music and some politically committed composers by Brooke Wentz (ITT, Aug. 24). A few points of clarification regarding the relationship between avant-garde musical style and composers' political involvement would be helpful.

First, it is somewhat of an oversimplification to equate musical with political radicalism, as Wentz tended to do. A majority of electronic/avant-garde composers are either apolitical or specifically antisocialist. Stockhausen, for instance, has attacked Luigi Nono for Nono's use of political themes in his compositions. Furthermore, the move towards political commitment has in some cases resulted in a simplifying of musical style and a turning away from aleatoric methods of composition or use of electronics (as has been the case with Rzewski and Christian Wolff, another important American composer whom Wentz regretfully omits).

Second, fortunately, the range of contemporary music written to increase working-class consciousness or for progressive causes is greater than might perhaps be gathered from Wentz's article. Hans Werner Henze, a leading German composer, and Nono have created some of their most striking works with inspiration from the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions (Henze's *El Cimarron*, based on the diary of a runaway slave, or Nono's ...y entonces comprendio..., which uses speeches by Castro and Che Guevara). Vincent Plush, an Australian, wrote *Facing the Danger*, based on a poem written for the June 12, 1982, antinuclear demonstration in New York City. Plush uses chanting, simple rhythmic ostinatos and tone clusters to impressive artistic—and political—effect.

I hope Wentz's article will be a portent of more coverage of works like these, both in *In These Times* and the left press in general.

—Robert L. Kendrick

Philadelphia

## DRAFT

SO JOHN JUDIS (ITT, AUG. 10) WOULD bring back the draft to get students aroused about Central America. Why doesn't he arrange for the National Guard to shoot a few—that would really get them worked up. Traditionally, the social democrats let some Marxist-Leninists advocate making the situation as bad as possible as a way of fomenting revolt.

It seems naive, to say the least, to hand over this enormous war-making power to the state. Just think how much easier it would be for Reagan (or any other president) to get us into a war if all she had to do was crank out draft notices. The U.S. military might be much deeper in Central America if the draft were in place.

There is no such thing as a democratic draft. In a Selective Service, not everyone goes and of those who go, not everyone faces combat. Although abolishing the student deferment eliminated a major class bias, middle and upper class men would still have an easier time documenting physical and psychological disabilities. The more educated will more readily gain conscientious objector status.

Draft and military counselors from the Vietnam era point out that it was not the college students in the military that resisted but soldiers from working class and minority backgrounds. The ruling class wants a whiter army, thinking it would be more politically reliable. Would blacks and Latins fight in Africa and Central America?

My most profound amazement is that Judis so readily accepts a military, to say nothing of a military used for capitalist and imperialist purposes. I'm

afraid that while he is promoting it, many of us will be actively resisting it.

—Don Olson  
Minneapolis

Editor's note: Judis did not advocate a draft. He noted that much of the opposition to the Vietnam war was a result of the draft.

## FUDAN

SINCE I AM ON THE EVE OF LEAVING to teach again at universities in the People's Republic of China, I found the article "Opening Doors at Fudan University" by Henry Rosemont Jr. (ITT, Aug. 10) interesting and valuable. However, I am puzzled by his remark that "there are no interpreters for the lectures of any foreign faculty at Fudan. All students must listen to the native tongue of the lecturer." When I lectured on American history at Fudan University in 1981, I not only had an interpreter for the more than 150 students, but during the period of my lectures, three interpreters.

—Phillip S. Foner

Professor Emeritus of History  
Lincoln University, Pa.

## SYLVIA

THE MYSTERY OF THE "GARFIELD" phenomenon has been resolved in my mind by the insight that Garfield is simply Sylvia without political consciousness. Or perhaps that Sylvia is Garfield one avatar later.

In any case, I much prefer the headier version. So vive Nicole Hollander, and thanks to ITT for running what the *Fresno Bee* is not quite up to (though, to give them their due, they carry "Guindon," my second favored strip.)

—Richard Stone

Fresno

## SELF-HATING JEWS

NANCY KRIEGER'S LETTER (ITT, AUG. 24) accusing *In These Times* of "anti-Semitic tendencies" was the kind of despicable PLO propaganda that has poisoned the international concept of the state of Israel for the past 15 years.

Krieger claims to represent the point of view of a segment of the American Jewish community that opposes the existence of the state of Israel. But her letter reveals the attitude of a minuscule handful of Americans who are filled with loathing of their Jewish connection and who cover this self hatred by propagating the PLO line.

The PLO and its supporters are bent on twisting the original meaning of Zionism into a pejorative term designating supporters of an "imperialist" state of Israel at the expense of the "Palestine nation," a nation that never existed.

Krieger's rewriting of the history of the creation of the state of Israel by "imperialist capitalists" with only a handful of socialists should have warned you as to what she is up to.

All real Jews support the right of the democratic state of Israel to exist. The great majority of us in the U.S., in Israel and all over the world deplore the Begin government's invasion of Lebanon and its misguided expansionism in the West Bank. We hope the resignation of Begin will signal a return to the sanity of the Labor socialist governments that guided that harassed nation since its inception.

Zionism means the support of the right of the state of Israel to exist. In this sense, all real Jews are Zionists. Unfortunately, there have always been Jewish anti-Semites. Krieger's diatribe reveals her as one of these.

—Morris Alexander

Chicago

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Edward Asner





# Chile

Continued from page 3

the three—largely incompatible—strategies of the opposition. The most conservative part of the opposition—the center right wing of the Christian Democratic Party—was resigned to waiting until promised parliamentary elections sometime after 1989. The most radical—the Communists and allied Socialist and far-left factions—advocated taking up arms to try to overthrow Pinochet with a popular insurrection modeled on that of Nicaragua. The third model, clearly favored by the magazine, called for the opposition to use every legal opening to organize a mass popular movement and prepare to confront Pinochet with determined, but non-violent civil disobedience on a massive scale to force the military out.

It took the collapse of Pinochet's economic boomlet to unite the opposition around that strategy, and it was unions and organizations fostered in poverty stricken neighborhoods by the Catholic Church that emerged as the leading edge—with the parties playing catch up.

In 1982, the economy shrank by 14 percent and the decline continued into this year. The always high unemployment rate soared to 30 percent, including hundreds of thousands of jobless who subsist on non-government make-work programs. As Pinochet responded to criticism with rigid insistence on continuing along the same economic road, businesses and trade associations moved toward outright opposition, arguing that democratic methods of government would have forced change in time to avert the worst of the crisis.

But the catalyst for the disparate opposition's discovery of its own breadth and force came from the copper miners—again one of the organizations whose opposition to Allende was decisive. Early this year, under the 29-year-old Seguel's leadership, the copper miners union called what was first intended to be a copper strike. When troops surrounded the miners, the unions changed the strike call into a call for all Chileans to join a national protest May 11 to demand a return to democracy. The method chosen for the protest—banging pots and pans outside one's homes after dark and keeping children home from school—minimized personal danger in the country's repressive environment but allowed those in opposition to discover how widespread their sentiments were shared.

Since May, the protests have been repeated around the symbolic date of the 11th of each month. Several violent clashes have broken out between protestors and police, resulting in more than 40 deaths. As *In These Times* went to press, a major opposition protest was planned for September 8—the day Gen. Pinochet was scheduled to be decorated as an "illustrious son of Santiago." A pro-government demonstration was slated for the next day.

On September 6—just two days before

the September 8 protest—Seguel was charged with violating a law that prohibits defamation of public officials. At that time, Seguel told reporters he expected to be arrested by the end of the week.

Dozens of other labor and political leaders have also been arrested in Pinochet's attempt to prevent the protests from continuing. But the jailing of moderates such as Seguel tends to weaken Pinochet's interpretation of the protests as Communist agitation orchestrated by the "Russians."

The de facto opposition coalition has been less hampered by the arrests—which serve to enhance the stature of the arrested leaders—than by its continued inability to unite behind a common platform outlining what future strategy to employ in the fight to regain democracy.

**John Dinges**, co-author with **Saul Landau** of *Assassination on Embassy Row*, writes frequently on South and Central America. He was based in Chile from 1972 to 1978 and returned there in June and September to cover the current protests. This article is an expanded version of a story originally written for *Pacific News Service*.

## File

Continued from page 9

arrested, leaving behind a new motorcycle and an apartment full of furniture. Sarant disappeared with his neighbor's wife from Ithaca, N.Y., several days after Julius' arrest and was traced to Mexico. Neither has ever been heard from again, even though Sarant and Carol Dayton, the woman he fled with, both left spouses and children in Ithaca.

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The Rosenberg defenders see these events as pure coincidence. Walter Schneir told me several months ago that Sarant and Dayton fled to Mexico to avoid having to face their respective spouses and may have been killed by bandits in Mexico and their bodies dumped in a ravine. In their latest edition of their book, the Schneirs allow that Barr may have moved to the Soviet Union as "one of the many Americans who were expatriates because of political or racial persecution."

But the timing of both Barr's and Sarant's flight, the history of their relationship with Rosenberg and the probability that both ended up in Moscow always seemed to me to make espionage a much stronger explanation for their disappearance than the Schneirs' explanations. (And now, since *The Rosenberg File* was published, conclusive evidence that both Barr and Sarant did go to the Soviet Union and that they were high up in the Soviet defense establishment has been uncovered. In his most recent communication to the *New York Review of Books*—a reply to Radosh's review of the new edition of *Invitation to an Inquest*—Schneir casually acknowledges this, but does not change his conclusions.)

### A political case.

Radosh and Milton have done a monumental job of researching and analyzing the question of espionage and the defense and prosecution performances in the Rosenberg case. They do so exhaustively, and in a manner that makes clear and interesting reading. Their conclusions seem inescapable.

But the book falls short in one area. In his introduction, Radosh writes that the Rosenbergs' execution seemed to be "yet

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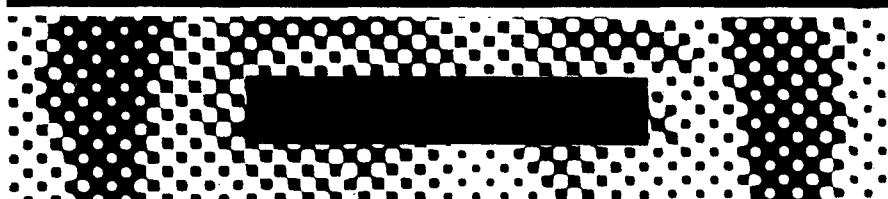
another lesson in the failure of American justice," and Radosh and Milton treat it as that and not much more. But the Rosenberg case was not simply an espionage trial, and the death sentences could not simply have been a device to force a confession.

From the beginning this was a highly political case with important political implications and consequences. Radosh and Milton do not explore this aspect of the case, not even discussing President Eisenhower's denial of clemency. They do quote Eisenhower giving the official view that the executions were needed to refute "the known convictions of Communist leaders all over the world that free governments...are notoriously weak and fearful and that consequently subversive and other kind of activity can be conducted against them with no real fear of dire punishment." But we know that could not have been the reason because the punishment did not fit the crime, and to be effective as a warning to other nations that would be necessary.

The domestic political reasons for the sentence—and for Eisenhower's refusal to alter it—are not explored. Thus the narrow prosecutorial reasons for the death sentences are left to stand as the primary reasons for the double execution, and the case appears more as an aberration—a "failure in American justice"—than the political case that it was.

But this is a secondary matter, given the magnitude of the task undertaken by Radosh and Milton and the quality of their accomplishment. There may well be other books on the historical meaning of the Rosenberg case, but unless a mass of new documents becomes available, *The Rosenberg File* should stand as the definitive word on the case.

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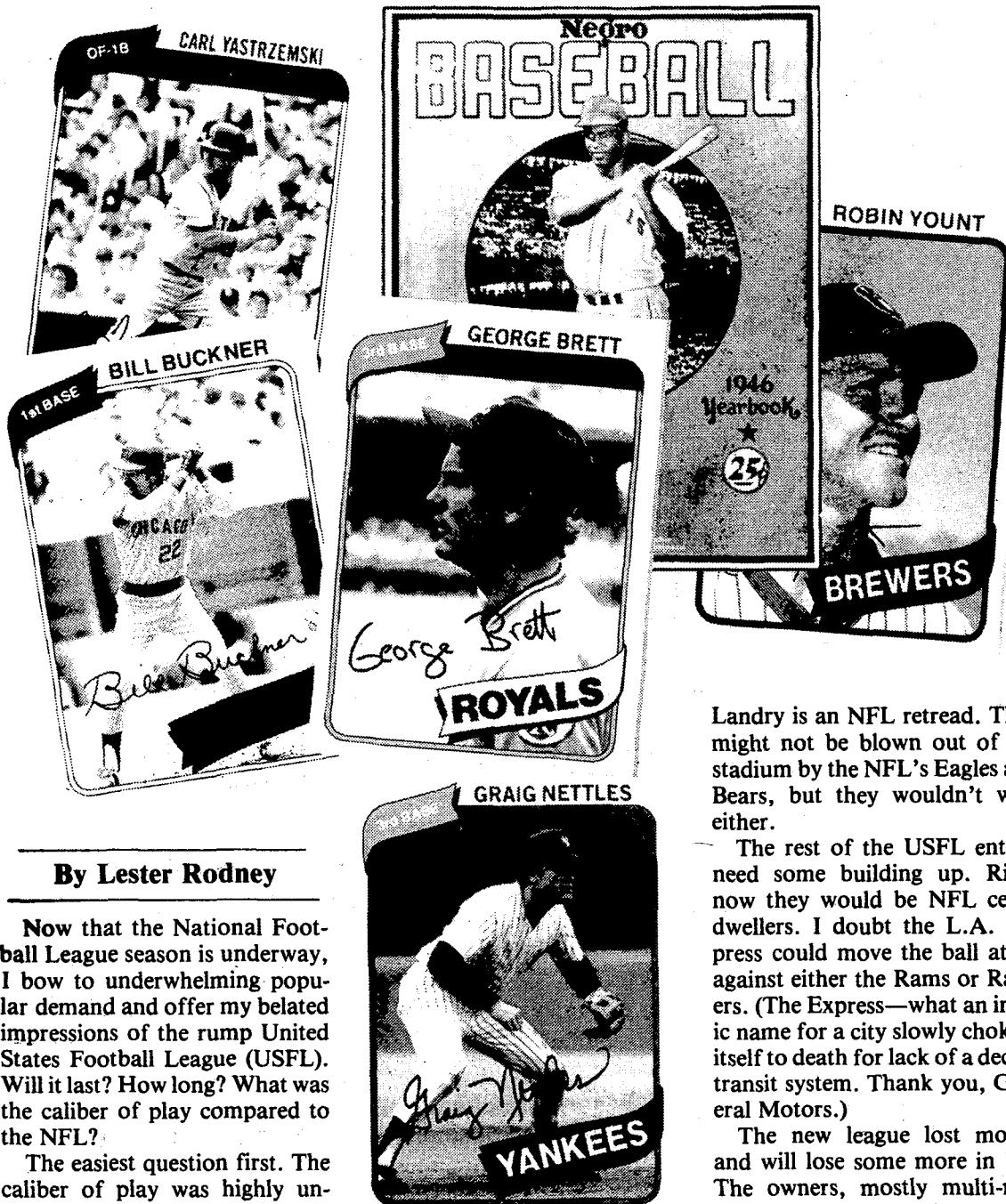
HSS3



# SPORTSCENE

## PRO SPORTS

# Baseball musings, plus USFL in a crystal ball



By Lester Rodney

Now that the National Football League season is underway, I bow to underwhelming popular demand and offer my belated impressions of the rump United States Football League (USFL). Will it last? How long? What was the caliber of play compared to the NFL?

The easiest question first. The caliber of play was highly uneven. The victorious Michigan team would not be embarrassed in the NFL, but wouldn't be a contender either. I'd have to bet on the Detroit Lions to beat them (though I'd be tempted by the Panthers plus 13). The USFL champs did have an authentic young quarterback star in Bobby Hebert, an impressive blocking line—hardest thing for new teams to build up—some good

defensive personnel and the flying Anthony Carter, another example of how NFL computer-minded scouts go wrong (he's too small, they said).

The Philadelphia and Chicago entries would rate one level lower. A look at the quarterbacks tells the differences between the leagues. Chuck Fusina does not have a true NFL arm and Greg

Landry is an NFL retread. They might not be blown out of the stadium by the NFL's Eagles and Bears, but they wouldn't win, either.

The rest of the USFL entries need some building up. Right now they would be NFL cellar dwellers. I doubt the L.A. Express could move the ball at all against either the Rams or Raiders. (The Express—what an ironic name for a city slowly choking itself to death for lack of a decent transit system. Thank you, General Motors.)

The new league lost money and will lose some more in '84. The owners, mostly multi-millionaires out for a vanity trip and incidental writeoff, expected as much. Let this be said: there are a lot of good football players coming out of the colleges, with less non-football jobs than ever available to them. The USFL does give employment to marginal players, some of whom might blossom, given the chance at regular play that they didn't get in the NFL.

Prognosis? Wild guess: after three years of nominal but not catastrophically low attendance, the USFL will call it quits following intensive sub-rosa negotiations with the NFL. A couple of franchises in cities not now in the NFL (Tulsa, Birmingham?) will join the big league. Where USFL teams play in NFL cities, there will be a sort of merger, which will essentially be the Chicago Bears swallowing the best players of the Blitz—the same in Tampa Bay, Philly, Detroit, etc.

In the finest tradition of American sportswriting, I'll file this article and wave it triumphantly in three years if all this comes to pass...and will remain discreetly silent if it doesn't.

Anyone detect something new in tone on the big league baseball scene? A new kind of sour fan reaction to losing—booing the local heroes late in a one-sided losing game or getting on players in a slump. Not all, or even a majority of the fans do it—but a lot do, and it's growing.

Things didn't used to be like that. "They're our team, for better or worse, just human, doing their damndest, they're big leaguers, which is a lot more than we could do, wait till next year...."

Anyone out there think this mean-spiritedness is not connected with mean-spiritedness emanating from our nation's capital? When our peerless leaders make a virtue of insensitivity, when social services and school budgets are slashed and voters with kids in school vote down desperately needed funds, when 35-year-old defense industry engineers snarl bitterly about "supporting old people with my taxes," is it really any wonder that you begin to get some reflection of all that at the old ball park?

See where St. Louis' great rubber-armed Bruce Sutter has run into problems this year? Big surprise. There are no rubber arms. They're all flesh, blood, bone, muscle, tendon and cartilage, which tend to give out after a few years of blatant overuse. Remember the flamingly brief career of "rubber-armed" relief whizzes like Joe Page, Joe Black, Jim Konstanty and Ted Wilks?

Recommended: *Baseball's Great Experiment* by Jules Tygiel (Oxford University Press, \$16.95, 344 pp.), the first book about baseball desegregation to place it in historical and sociological context. And, would you believe, the very first to objectively include

the role of the *Daily Worker* and Communist Party in the long campaign to end the ban on black players in our "national pastime." (And they talk about the *Russians* magically erasing things from history.)

Yes, the Cardinals' Ozzie Smith is the best fielding short-stop these bespectacled eyes have ever seen. Imagine a defense with Ozzie at short and either Willie Mays or Joe DiMaggio in center field. Third base? Another current player is as good as they ever came—the Yankees' Graig Nettles, though a guy you kids never heard of, Ray Dandridge, was at least as good. (He was born a little too soon for a guy with dark skin.) First base, defensively speaking? Way back to Bill Terry of the old Giants, closely followed by George Sisler, St. Louis Browns. Second base? Hughey Critz, Cincinnati, and Charlie Gehringer, Detroit. Catchers? Jim Hegan of Cleveland, Roy Campanella of Brooklyn and Johnny Bench, take your pick. **Lester Rodney was sports editor of the *Daily Worker*.**

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschinot**.

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#### September 28

City Shadows: The Urban Crisis and the Politics of Everyday Life. A talk by Manuel Castells, author of *The Urban Question*, his first since returning from a year in Spain. 8 p.m. at 80 Langton Street (near 7th & Folsom). A part of Urban Site. Free.

### OAKLAND, CA

#### September 30-October 2

Labor Notes West Coast Conference: "Saving Our Jobs and Working Conditions." Panels and workshops on fighting concessions; protectionism and local content; plant closings; the new West Coast economy; and more. Simultaneous Spanish translation, childcare provided. Preregistration (\$35) required. For information, contact Labor Notes, 6417 Hillebrand Avenue, Oakland, CA 94618; (415) 658-1147.

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#### October 1

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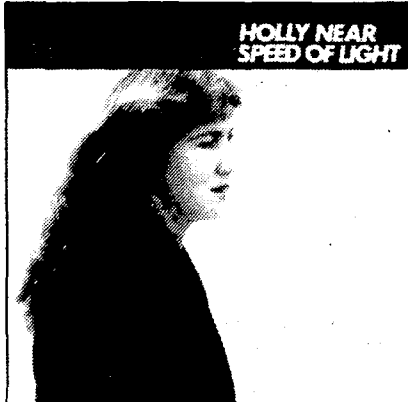
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# Irangleles

Continued from page 16

from a social and medical standpoint," "The History of Iranian bureaucracy" and "Traditions of art and performance in Iran."

The society's meetings also serve as an informal bazaar. Iranian booksellers set up tables, and one painter regularly manages to make a number of sales of watercolor scenes of Iranian cities and cultural monuments—capitalizing somewhat on members' homesickness.

The organizer of the society, Nader Saleh, who one longtime resident called affectionately "Mr. Lions Club," is enthusiastic about the society.

"We have over 200 people for lunch every week," he claims. "We have a newsletter and other cultural activities. All of these things help keep the community together."

Saleh's enthusiasm is justified. After the revolution Iranians in the U.S. were literally afraid of each other. Many had been prominent military or government officials in the Shah's regime. Assassinations of former officials by Khomeini supporters were taking place on a world scale, and no one felt that anyone else could be trusted. Now that the community has settled in, things are more convivial. The society even feels relaxed enough to serve wine for those who want it, a practice that would have made people nervous directly after the revolution, given the prohibition against alcohol in

Khomeini's Islamic Republic.

Expatriation has also given birth to an Iranian cultural renaissance. Restricted in many ways under both the Shah's and Khomeini's regimes, Iran's visual and verbal arts are finding new life in the U.S.

There are now some 15 Iranian periodicals printed in California, making the West Coast the center of publishing activity for the Iranian community. Even Persian books are appearing in great numbers, on subjects ranging from literary studies to history and political science.

In the popular arts, Iranian entertainers are writing new songs and fostering a small Iranian recording industry. Three producers present Iranian television programs each week and there are several independent radio programs, all heavy with advertisements for Iranian businesses.

One of the more notable expatriates is Parviz Sayyad, who was a distinguished film director in Iran. Recently he produced a remarkable movie called *Fereshtadeh* (*The Mission*), which is playing to packed houses in two Los Angeles theaters. Shot in New York in Persian with English subtitles, it has drawn rave reviews from many American critics, including the *New York Times*' Vincent Canby.

"At first, only the Iranians came," said Sayyad. "But now the audience is mostly English-speaking. The film appeared last week on the *Billboard* list of top-grossing films in America. Who would have thought that an Iranian film could ever do that?"

*The Mission* concerns a sincere young revolutionary who comes to the U.S. from Iran under orders to kill an exiled former agent of Savak, the Shah's secret

police. The young man inadvertently rescues his erstwhile victim from muggers on the New York subway and is drawn into a personal relationship with him that raises profound doubts about the values of the revolution. Eventually these doubts prevent him from carrying out the mission.

Less accessible to English-speakers was Sayyad's highly successful stage play, *Kar* (*Donkey*), in which an Iranian woman comes to breakfast in post-revolutionary Tehran to find that her husband has a donkey's head. In Iran, to become a donkey means to be co-opted by someone else—to sell out.

"True, I have become a donkey," the husband concedes. "But when the donkey has had too much, is too put upon, then he begins to bray, and his braying is so powerful that if all the donkeys bray together, they can destroy the world." By the play's end, all of the people the couple knows, as well as the woman herself, are wearing donkeys' heads.

Sayyad notes that his current work would have been impossible to stage in Iran, either under the Shah or under the current regime. "I miss my country," he says. "But this is the first time in my life I have been able to work without the threat of censorship."

Beyond their skillful production and political sharpness, Sayyad's tales have a special attraction for their Persian-speaking audiences: They are, in fact, the stories of many of the inhabitants of Irangleles.

William O. Beeman, who teaches anthropology and Middle Eastern studies at Brown University, writes for *Pacific News Service*. This is an expanded version of a story that first appeared in *PNS*.

# Debate

Continued from page 2

porting technology and Western products, which was also supposed to overcome the crisis of capitalism." All this, concluded Gorz, was a "total failure."

For Gorz, the only way to get the USSR to relax its pressure on central Europe is to dissolve the blocs. "But for such a policy to be able to succeed, it is necessary for there to be in Western and Central Europe a sort of 'spirit of resistance,'" such as exists in countries that accomplished their bourgeois revolution correctly.

Gorz believes French foreign policy is "inspired by the strong need to rebuild a classic, integrated European defense that in the long term would make it possible to liberate Europe completely from American protection." But this is countered by "doubt as to the attitude of the German people, who do not necessarily want this type of purely defensive conventional defense with the risks it involves—notably of material destruction." So France must rely on its own national nuclear defense.

"It is out of the question to give up French nuclear deterrence: the *force de frappe* could be the subject of negotiation only if there existed a very great certainty that the other European nations are animated by that spirit of resistance to all Soviet pressure"—a spirit Gorz perceives in France but not in Germany.

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# IRANGELES

By William O. Beeman

**I**TS INHABITANTS CALL IT "IRANGELES"—a city within a city, populated by an estimated 200,000 Iranian immigrants. Irangeles is far from a typical American ghetto. Most of its residents are affluent refugees from the Iranian revolution, living in the middle- and upper-class neighborhoods of northern Los Angeles: Westwood, Beverly Hills, West Hollywood, Glendale and the San Fernando Valley.

A good number escaped with enormous fortunes, which were spirited out of the country before the revolution and used to set up businesses that qualified their owners for U.S. residence permits. In addition, many exiles who were not themselves affluent in Iran are making big money today in businesses serving those who were.

The affluence of Iranians is evident everywhere. The real estate market in Beverly Hills and adjoining areas was sent reeling with the influx of whole families in flight from the revolution. Real estate values in inflationary pre-revolutionary Tehran had been, if anything, higher than in Los Angeles with prices for single-family homes often starting at \$1 million or more. Thus for the new immigrants, California housing prices, sky-high by U.S. standards, seemed cheap by comparison.

Iranians plunked down cash for whatever was asked, partially helping to sustain the upscale land market on the West Coast through the recession of the last two years. Angelenos made jokes about the Iranian land rush, but brokers loved it. Soon, of course, Iranians had established their own real estate offices and began buying and selling in the community itself.

Ghassem Lajevardi, one of the wealthiest men in Iran before the revolution, recently became the first Iranian to buy a bank in the U.S. It was a small suburban bank, but the deal signalled the fact that the Iranians' financial presence is in California to stay.

## Yellow Pages in Persian.

Irangeles has even produced its own *Iranian Yellow Pages*, a 300-page volume that graphically demonstrates the enormous range of Persian-language services available to expatriates here—pet hospitals, stock brokerage, furniture stores, beauty shops, printers, florists, real estate agents. Restaurants and cabarets are prominent, with several popular night club singers from the Shah's Tehran now plying their trade in California.

But the growth of Irangeles is most apparent in the proliferation of Iranian grocery stores. One large market, the "Iran Super" in the west San Fernando Valley, has expanded three times in the last few years to keep up with the tide of customers. "We have a full selection of Iranian breads, vegetables, spices and herbs," says a clerk, the owner's son-in-law. Included are many produce items that are entirely new to the Western Hemisphere.

Explains the clerk: "Some man has started an Iranian farm outside of Los Angeles and grows all of those things."

Not everything is produced in California. Some of the more esoteric and precious goods make their way into the U.S. as informal contraband.

"A man was here last week with 10 kilograms [22 pounds] of saffron which he wanted to sell," the Tarzana clerk continued. At \$240 an ounce or more, saffron is the most expensive edible in the world, and is essential to Iranian cooking. The Khomeini regime has banned private citizens from selling it abroad, since it is so easily convertible to cash. "We bought about \$1,000 worth," said the clerk blithely.

Despite their relatively comfortable lives, "Irangeles" are still deeply obsessed with the revolution. They long for their native country and spend long hours ruminating on the causes of the Shah's fall. One prominent theory, widely accepted, is that Washington itself installed Khomeini, as a fundamentalistic Islamic bulwark against Communism.

As Iranians live in the U.S., so are they becoming Americanized. There is now a powerful society, Iranian Residents in the U.S. They meet every week in a restaurant in the San Fernando Valley for lunch and to hear lectures in Persian on topics as varied as "The use of alcohol

*Continued on page 15*

**A Middle Eastern city thrives  
inside an American city.**